141378
-2
1980
SHERROD LIB
PERIOD DEPT
E TENN ST UNIV
JOHNSON CITY TN 37601

The Nation.

June 14, 1980 $1

AP
2
.N32

EDITORIAL

FOREIGN ENCOUNTER

If the Carter Administration carries out its threat to prosecute Ramsey Clark, Nobel laureate George Wald and the eight other Americans who traveled to Iran last week, it will be the Government's most serious attack on liberty since the Nixon Administration's attempt to enjoin publication of the Pentagon Papers. The underlying issue is the same: may the Government use the law to insure that its official version of American intervention goes unchallenged?

As we have previously noted (see editorial "Right to Travel," *The Nation*, May 3), several court decisions during the 1950s and the 1960s denied the President the power to prohibit outright travel to any country. Only the power to bar the use of American passports in countries where hostilities are in progress or where the safety of Americans would be endangered has been upheld. In an effort to circumvent those court decisions, however, the Carter Administration has recently issued several regulations barring travel to Iran under legislation authorizing the President to limit transactions in foreign exchange during international emergencies.

This legislation cannot reasonably be stretched to empower the President to impose indirectly restrictions on travel that he may not impose directly. We hope that the Administration will abandon its threats of prosecution. If prosecution is brought under this novel claim of power, it will be treated as a novel question by the courts. Unfortunately, Richard Nixon, the President who lost the Pentagon Papers fight, will have a hand in its resolution because he appointed several of the Justices whose votes may be decisive. That makes us fearful of the results of litigation, a fear that would be considerably alleviated if the nation's press would rally to resist this attack on liberty the way it rallied when its own liberty was threatened.

CARTER AND WOMEN: AN EXCHANGE
Mary E. K...
Mim Kelber

REACTION IN EL SALVADOR
Carolyn Forché

MEDICAL INDIGENCY
Geraldine Alpert and Marsha Hurst

OLD FACE IN PERU
Penny Lernoux

'THE AGE OF SURVEILLANCE'
Robert Sherrill

'OFF CENTER'
Brina Caplan

'AMAZON' VS. 'EARTH MOTHER'?

WOMEN, WAR AND FEMINISM

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

Thomas Hardy's "The Souls of the Slain" is a bitter poem telling of his disenchantment in the decade following the unprecedented carnage of World War I. Hardy startles us in his poem with his utter rejection of martial vaingloriousness, but when he portrays women not so much militantly as resignedly against war and the sacrifice of their sons, he links himself to a tradition as old as Euripides's *The Trojan Women* and *Iphigenia* and as recent as statements by feminists condemning President Jimmy Carter's revived cold-war rhetoric and his call for draft registration for men and women—the belief that women have a particular stake in preserving the peace.

Not all contemporary feminists share the view that women are or should be more pacific than men—an issue I shall return to—but throughout history, certainly, women have been identified with antiwar and antimilitarist positions. Several of the intellectual and political leaders of the nineteenth-century suffragist movement linked women to the cause of universal peace, social justice and compassion. Frequently, and to the ultimate detriment of the feminist effort, the assumed affinity between women and peace was grounded in the notion that women were not only "different from" but morally superior to men. Ironically, this assumption was the very one deployed by antisuffragists in arguing that men and women must continue to inhabit separate spheres.

Another problem lay in assumptions which slid from notions that women's interest in peace emerged from their activities as the bearers of values and the mainstays of familial and

(Continued on Page 722)

ETSU LIBRARY
The Other Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
JUN 11 1980
ACCESSED UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

Carter and Women

DEFENDS CARTER'S RECORD

Washington

The sentiment that led to Mim Kelber's story "Carter and Women: The Record" [*The Nation*, May 24] is grounded, I fear, less in predicting the future than in ignoring the past. Kelber's narrative of the women who severed their ties with the only President in our history who raised women's issues to the top of the national agenda, on the ground that he has not supported women and women's issues, is a chronicle of women who suffer from short memories. . . .

Despite Kelber's assertion that I, and others like me, have been co-opted by being a Carter Administration appointee, I certainly was not predisposed to Carter back in the early 1970s, given my background in the civil rights, women's and antiwar movements. . . .

But only a few years later I found in Carter a public official who expressed convictions I had not believed could come from a public official, especially a Southern white male. His ability to see beyond sex and race attracted me to him when he first became Governor of Georgia, and long before he considered running for President. . . .

Just before the 1976 election, Governor Carter promised the U.S. National Women's Agenda Conference "decision-making and policy-making participation in our government." He made ten promises in that speech: (*1*) programs to support educational equality; (*2*) vigorous enforcement of Federal antidiscrimination regulations; (*3*) strengthening of Federal equal-employment regulations; (*4*) appointment of additional women to a strengthened Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (E.E.O.C.); (*5*) enforcement of Federal antidiscrimination regulations pertaining to Federal contractors and subcontractors; (*6*) increased hiring of women in top grades in the Federal Government; (*7*) establishment of flexitime in the Federal Government; (*8*) a fair-credit act for women; (*9*) support for the homemaker, and (*10*) development of a comprehensive Federal child-care program. This was more recognition of women than any candidate for national office had ever offered! After he was elected, he fulfilled all but one of these promises (the last) by the midpoint of his first term. Yet it is only the promises he did not keep that Kelber mentioned in her story.

Jimmy Carter's commitment to including women went further than promises. In the campaign, four of the ten regional campaign directors were women, and women headed several campaign desks, including the vital scheduling and advance operations. Several issue task forces were headed by women. In fact, this one campaign dramatically increased the pool of women political operatives nationwide—a pool President Carter drew from when making many of his appointments. It was from the ranks of politically active women that he got his appointees, not directly out of the women's movement, as Kelber suggested. Talent is not necessarily synonymous with activism in the women's movement, although most talented, politically active women are active feminists.

Today, I wonder if the clock has been turned back six years. Despite that record and the strong evidence of the last three years of the Carter Presidency, Kelber writes of President Carter as though she were trying to work out a prejudice against white Southerners.

There is value in comparing a President's performance with the ideal. It tells us how far as a culture we have to go in obtaining equity. But it is also important to compare it with reality, including the reality of what life was like under previous administrations.

Gerald Ford's staff campaigned on the ground that 14 percent of his appointments had been women—a tremendous increase over previous administrations. President Carter, however, has named more than 500 women as Presidential appointees—approximately 25 percent of his total appointees. Each of them in turn has sought out talented women for the programs they run. And it is this ripple effect that makes such a difference, whether we are judging by today's policies or whether we wait five or fifty years for historical perspective.

More important than numbers are positions. Until 1976, only three women had served in the Cabinet. Since that time the number has doubled—and one of Carter's appointees headed two departments. Kelber dismisses this, without recognizing that a Cabinet Secretary controls a budget larger than that of many countries. Women appointees, significantly, control dollars. The 1981 Federal budget request of $611.5 billion will be administered by as many women as men. Kelber does not look at the difference it makes to appoint women to office instead of appointing men. Two of the differences are obvious: greater recognition of women's issues and the ripple effect of women appointees who appoint women to lower-echelon jobs. There is also the long-term effect, which we cannot predict today.

But we can look at the beginnings of change. Would there have been Social Security reform without women in high positions in the Federal Government who were worried about divorced women and housewives? Would President Carter have had such government-wide support for his major overhaul of the E.E.O.C., which now has twice as much money and is doing a difficult job fighting sex discrimination under strong leadership and the direction of more women than have ever been on the commission?

Kelber asserts that President Carter's budget proposal for 1981 shortchanges domestic programs that particularly affect women. In fact, it is these programs that come out ahead in a budget generally recognized as lean. The Women's Educational Equity Act, which is currently funded at $10 million, will double its funding to $20 million in the proposed 1981 budget. This is the act hailed as a breakthrough for women in higher education.

Head Start, a program for preschool children from disadvantaged homes, will be increased 12 percent in the 1981 budget to $820 million. The 1981 budget has new funds for the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act, which is still awaiting Senate approval. This would provide $10 million in 1981, $15 million in 1982 and $20 million in 1983 to fund community-based shelters for victims of domestic violence. In addition, child-care funds have been increased, funding for the successful Women, Infants and Children nutrition program will be almost doubled and the food stamp program will receive additional funding. These are just highlights

(Continued on Page 709)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 230, No. 23

COVER
Editorial: Foreign Encounter
"Amazon" vs. "Earth Mother"?:
Women, War and Feminism — *Jean Bethke Elshtain*

EXCHANGE
706 Carter and Women

EDITORIALS
707 Now We Begin
708 Terror Talks
708 The F.T.C. Clipped
711 *Second Thoughts* — *Carey McWilliams*

ARTICLES
712 Anatomy of Counterrevolution:
The Road to Reaction in El Salvador — *Carolyn Forché*
716 Medical Indigency:
A Plague on Our Hospitals — *Geraldine Alpert and Marsha Hurst*
719 Return of Belaúnde:
Old Face, New Problems in Peru — *Penny Lernoux*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
725 Donner: The Age of Surveillance — *Robert Sherrill*
727 Harrison: Off Center — *Brina Caplan*
730 Schary: Heyday
Burrows: Honest, Abe
Polonsky: Zenia's Way — *Larry Ceplair*
731 Theater — *Harold Clurman*
732 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Isadore Seltzer

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Karen Wilcox; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Amy Wilentz; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Patricia Dowling; *Assistant Copy Editor,* Sydne Silverstein; *Editorial Assistant,* Barbara Dudley Davis; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art,* Lawrence Alloway; *Dance,* Nancy Goldner; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Indigenous Music,* Nat Hentoff; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Press,* Richard Pollak; *Television,* Peter Sourian; *Theater,* Harold Clurman; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Bonn,* C. Amery; *Canberra,* C.P. Fitzgerald; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Carey McWilliams (*Second Thoughts*), Calvin Trillin (*Variations*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editor,* Blair Clark. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Marcus Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish

Advertising Manager, Karen Polk; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Circulation Manager,* Gloria Sangster; *Production Coordinator,* Daphne Kis; *Assistant to Publisher,* Karen Polk; *Classified,* Lindsey Weinraub; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1980 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $25; two years, $45; six months, $14. Student rate, $17 a year. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for all subscription transactions.**

EDITORIALS.

Now We Begin

Are we going to have to choose between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan—things as they are and things as they never were and never will be? Is that the choice before the American people now that the long campaign for the "party" nominations has fizzled to its nonclimax and is at least finished?

Contemplating Carter vs. Reagan, Reagan vs. Carter, one has to put "party" in quotes because both of them really ran as personalities barely connected with anything that could be called a political party. The labels Republican and Democrat were stuck on loosely as an afterthought, a nod toward fading tradition.

Just before the June 3 "superbowl" of eight state primaries, Senator Edward Kennedy played rough and called Carter "a clone of Reagan." Such talk has not, of course, stopped the President from trying to heal breach, mend fence, paper over difference between himself and challenger.

Having won, but not staggeringly, five of those eight contests to add to New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts, Kennedy declared that he would go on, that the campaign was "beginning," not ending. One recalls that Carter, the flagging marathoner, lost the last five primaries of 1976 to E. G. Brown Jr. of California and that it made no difference—except that he then harmonized the factions by encouraging the adoption of the most ambitiously "liberal" platform ever shredded.

What, in reality, can Kennedy do by fighting on? It would be nice if he could make the Democratic convention break loose, repudiate the state-by-state commitments to Carter (which it has a legal right to do) and nominate another—which in any case would probably not be himself, the bearer of the bad news about the incumbent. But the obstacle to that appealing scenario is the set of rules adopted after 1972 to make it possible for the candidate to be sure of his delegates' loyalty. Carter knows how to work those levers.

What Kennedy can do is to push Carter further leftward in principle and platform (sprinkle quotes liberally) than he

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opportunistically would go anyway. Optimists might hope that from an angry struggle at the Democratic convention could come some new devices for working its updated will and checking the rightward drift. At worst, a losing minority position would offer a basis for inventing or restoring decent political principles and rebuilding a party for 1984 and beyond.

Others, pessimists and optimists, will stare into the Carter/Reagan void and turn energetically toward the peculiar John Anderson candidacy or more radical, structural solutions and labor to make them come about.

Terror Talks

While diplomats procrastinate, extremists let bombs do the talking. The car-bomb explosions last week that maimed two West Bank Palestinian mayors were a symptom of the malaise of drift and confusion that has overwhelmed West Bank autonomy talks. The three powers are becalmed in the political doldrums; Begin, Sadat, Carter are all immobilized by domestic worries. And so the terrorists speak: the murder of six settlers in Hebron by the Palestine Liberation Organization; the retaliatory attack on the Palestinian mayors, apparently by Israeli extremists.

What makes the latest mayhem novel is that the victims were probably chosen as targets precisely because they are among the few Palestinian leaders who, as elected officials, can claim a democratic constituency. Yet, such is the reigning illogic of extremist politics in the Middle East that these same men, whom right-wing Israelis regard as cat's-paws of the P.L.O., could well have served as symbols of moderation to a fanatical faction in the P.L.O. and been the objects of their vengeance, as has happened in the past to such "moderates" as Arafat's murdered representative in London, Said Hammami, or the Imam of Gaza.

During thirteen years of West Bank occupation, neither the Israelis nor the P.L.O. encouraged independent political leadership because it was in their interests not to do so. The P.L.O. feared that such leadership might make a separate peace; the Israelis feared that viable political organizations among the Palestinians might disrupt their occupation by nonviolent tactics such as mass demonstrations, civil disobedience and general strikes.

But now the wheel has been given several turns; the West Bank Palestinians' demand for self-determination intensifies because of the Begin Government's dangerous settlement policy. The Palestinians, unarmed, let the P.L.O. speak for them with periodic acts of terrorism. The Israelis have retaliated with curfews, deportations of the mayors of Halhoul and Hebron following the Hebron massacre, and raids on P.L.O. "bases" in Lebanon. And the extremists among the Israeli settlers go their Government one better by directing terrorism at even the legitimately elected Palestinian leaders, perhaps in hopes of snuffing out the last vestiges of a West Bank democratic infrastructure and creating a de facto armed state of their own.

The feeble diplomatic hope of the Camp David signatories is that with the passing of time, it will be possible to revive the autonomy talks. But on the West Bank, time runs out with a blind, inexorable urgency.

The F.T.C. Clipped

It was a close call, but the Federal Trade Commission has survived to fight another day. Whether it still has the stomach for such fights remains to be seen.

For years, the F.T.C. has been forced to operate without formal authorization because Congress was not happy with the agency's newly awakened consumer activism. This May, after more than seven months of wrangling and a one-day shutdown of the agency, Congress finally voted it a three-year authorization.

But there were strings attached. The F.T.C.'s investigations and rule-making procedures in connection with unfair advertising in children's television, product standards, funerals, agricultural co-ops, insurance and trademarks were all constrained to some extent; in addition, a legislative veto was created whereby an F.T.C. rule can be annulled if both the House and Senate disapprove it within ninety days after it is submitted to Congress.

Although the limitations are real, most of them are much milder than were contained in either the House or Senate versions of the bill, each of which would have ended the F.T.C. proceedings completely rather than just limiting them. Credit for minimizing the damage probably belongs to the President, who met with Congressional conferees for an hour in late April and threatened to veto any legislation killing the major rule-making proceedings.

Although this time the special interests focused on the commission's consumer protection efforts, its antitrust activities will probably come under fire next. Legislation has already been introduced to reduce the agency's antitrust powers, and hearings have been promised.

The commission may already have got the message. Two weeks ago, Bureau of Competition director Alfred Dougherty resigned, noting that "as the political climate has changed . . . an air of calculating caution has spread within the commission." There are indications that the commission is already more timid with respect to big corporate mergers; that it will switch from industrywide rules against consumer abuses to case-by-case enforcement in response to specific complaints, which was its practice in its much-maligned past.

And if Ronald Reagan is elected President this November or the Republicans get either numerical or working control of Congress, "calculating caution" may look very vigorous indeed. Even if the Democrats retain both the White House and Congress, the commission has been given a stern warning. It is getting to be a tale too often told: once again business lobbyists have inveigled Congress to stomp on the American consumer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

(Continued From Page 706)

of the budget Kelber damns as short-changing women.

Of the thirty-two women on the Federal bench, President Carter has appointed twenty-eight—more than all the women Federal judges appointed in our nation's entire history. Those appointees were a victory for Carter. Under the legislation creating additional judgeships, he did not have the sole power to choose the nominees; this was a senatorial prerogative and it was only through Administration pressure that so many women were nominated. Certainly, whenever a qualified woman was nominated, Carter appointed her.

Kelber writes that Senator Edward Kennedy is the choice of the women's movement. She cites his voting record on women's issues, which is indeed exemplary. Yet even Kennedy has had difficulty translating his philosophical commitment to everyday reality. A *New York Times* article last December pointed out that the evidence from his senatorial office is bad: "Senator Kennedy's Capitol Hill office . . . has long been known as a male preserve." . . .

Carter's support of the Equal Rights Amendment has not wavered. His support and the active involvement of his family may be less rooted in concern for getting women into board rooms of big city banks than it is in the belief that all women should have the choice of whether, where and how much to work. The Carters' instinctual concern is for women working in mills, on farms and in factories. This is their populist inheritance—and may be why the cosmopolitan, primarily urban women's leaders and organizations have failed to applaud what the Carter Administration has done to advance the cause of women's rights.

It is true that President Carter's proven support for women over the last four years and his contributions on behalf of women are veiled by the failure of E.R.A. ratification. Too many women now allow this issue to overshadow all his concrete achievements for women.

The fact is, if Carter is going to bring about E.R.A. passage, it will be because he has done it subtly, behind the scenes —and it will not be done before the election. Fewer than thirty state legislators stand in the way of E.R.A. approval today. These legislators have remained unmoved by exhortations or aspersions from Presidential candidates, feminists and other right-minded individuals. They can be moved only by conviction—the conviction that E.R.A. support is in their best interests.

Public phone calls from the President make good headlines, but they are nowhere near as effective as behind-the-scenes pork-barreling by Administration officials. Yet these efforts may never reach the newspapers and their effects will not be seen, in most cases, until the 1981 state legislative sessions, when the amendment is again brought to a vote in the holdout states.

The plain fact of pork-barreling is that it must be negotiated without publicity. It is a slow process, and can be evaluated only in the final vote. State legislators are unwilling to trade their votes until they know they have received the highest possible price, and they know the price goes up as the deadline approaches. Public statements are impressive, but in hardball politics only quid pro quo works. So until E.R.A. is successful, there is only past history to convince us of the best candidate.

But quid pro quo works both ways. Women who turn against President Carter because he has not presided over E.R.A. passage have lost sight of a fundamental principle of politics: you get only as good as you give. If women are willing to support more aggressive action, and back their support with contributions, time and votes, Carter will go further.

In 1976 he proved himself a supporter of women and women's issues by setting the standard.

In 1980 he is doing it again. His policies are based on conviction, and he has proven that conviction. He is the candidate who has a track record, and this cannot be ignored.

Mary E. King
Deputy Director, ACTION

KELBER DISAGREES

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mary King says that in writing about President Carter's record of broken promises to women I appear to be working out "a prejudice against white Southerners." . . .

I knew Carter was a white Southerner when I voted for him and helped in his 1976 campaign. Political beliefs, not regional or ethnic prejudice, lead me and other feminists to reject Carter now on the only valid ground: his performance in office.

Contrary to what King says, I do not suffer from a "short" memory. I remember very clearly hearing candidate Carter speak to the National Women's Agenda Conference in Washington in September 1976, the speech to which King refers and in which he also vowed to make ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment the hallmark of his Administration. That same afternoon, I flew with Bella Abzug to Carter campaign headquarters in Atlanta, where we met with Hamilton Jordan and discussed how we could help elect Carter. Abzug spent the next two months campaigning for him, particularly among women and college students. The next significant meeting she had with Jordan was on January 12, 1979, when he summoned her to his White House office and fired her as co-chair of the National Advisory Committee for Women because she had dared, on behalf of the committee, to question Carter's budget cuts.

I also remember, despite King's raptures about how this unusual man listens seriously to women and deals so forthrightly with people, that when Carter met with Abzug and the advisory committee members for an hour on that January 12, he knew he was planning to have Abzug fired after the meeting, but lacked the honesty to tell them so. He waited until the committee members had left, and then had Jordan do the job for him. Later, as a cover story for a firing based on policy differences, the President and his aides tried to make it appear to be a personality dispute. That kind of bad-mouthing was the same graceless tactic used in attacking departed Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

I recall, too, that after the firing and the protest resignations of a majority of the advisory committee, Mary King and Sarah Weddington were the only prominent women in the Carter Administration to endorse Abzug's ouster. Despite strong pressure from the White House to get other Administration women to join the claque, most resisted. Many Administration women officials were just as displeased with the proposed budget cuts as were the advisory committee members, and were pressuring from the inside to have some cuts rescinded. I have been told that King,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

however, believes women in the Administration should be uncritically loyal to the President and, accordingly, refused to participate in a meeting of women officials organized by Midge Costanza to protest the President's support of the ban on Medicaid payments for abortions.

In my article, I made a point of praising the caliber and work of many executive-branch women officials. It would be foolish to contend that women are not making some advances within the Administration framework or to describe the White House as immune to the political and social pressures of women's changing roles and fight for equality. Even Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford found it necessary to have women's commissions or committees in their Administrations, and a number of feminists were already in government when Carter became President.

The question of whether reformers and radicals should work "inside" or "outside" the establishment is an old dilemma, and is usually resolved realistically by deciding they should do both. Women have struggled long and hard to get their present toehold in the upper policy levels of government and I would not suggest to Carter's women appointees that they should leave, particularly if they are accomplishing something, as are Eleanor Holmes Norton, chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Alexis Herman, head of the U.S. Women's Bureau, and others. But when women are used as window dressing for wrong, dangerous or glaringly inadequate policies, then they must consult their own consciences as to where they belong. Certainly, there is much more involved in the goals of the women's movement and the civil rights movement than getting "plum" jobs for a few thousand women and blacks.

King exaggerates the achievements of the Carter Administration and is wrong on some of her facts. The Equal Credit Act, for example, was introduced by women members of Congress and became law under Ford. Social Security reform for homemakers and other women has not yet been enacted, although it has been under study for almost a decade. According to an Americans for Democratic Action analysis, Carter's 1981 budget provides for a $17 billion, or 7.8 percent, cut in discretionary, nondefense spending. His major increases were confined to defense spending, up 12.8 percent in his budget version, and entitlement programs. The minor increases for women, children and nutrition programs to which King refers do not keep abreast of inflation. Carter's last budget removed 14,000 children from Head Start programs, and the Children's Defense Fund says that even with the modest increase in dollars in the 1981 budget, more youngsters will be shut out of the program. The proposed $20 million for the Women's Educational Equity Act looks good, unless one knows that Congress authorized up to $30 million a year when W.E.E.A. was first passed. In 1976, the first year of operation, W.E.E.A. received only $6.2 million. Last year it got $10 million. The proposed $20 million for 1981 falls far short of what Congress agreed was necessary five years ago. Domestic violence prevention legislation was introduced in the previous Congress, but Carter failed to support it. This year, it has Administration backing, but is under attack in the Senate by right-wingers who apparently believe men should be free to beat up their wives and kids.

What I found most astonishing about King's response—aside from her total silence on the enormously important issue of abortion rights—were her comments on E.R.A. and working women.

King's assertion that President Carter is subtly and secretly using "behind-the-scenes pork-barreling" to pressure state legislators into ratifying E.R.A. will certainly be news to the National Organization for Women and other pro-E.R.A. groups. It may even be news to Carter. King seems to have forgotten that after NOW voted last December not to support Carter's re-election because of his failure to use Government clout in behalf of E.R.A., Weddington, the President's spokeswoman, told a press conference in New York City that Carter would not be "goaded" into applying pressure on states that have not ratified E.R.A.

In his so-called strategy meetings with women, Carter's line on E.R.A. has been strangely unsophisticated. He pretends the real problem is not a handful of recalcitrant state legislators but public opposition, although all national polls show a large majority of Americans favor E.R.A. If Carter is right, though, about insufficient public support for E.R.A., why hasn't he helped mobilize public opinion for it? Why didn't he go to Illinois and Florida personally and lend his prestige to the campaigns for E.R.A. there? Why has he never given E.R.A. more than a passing sentence in his nationally televised State of the Union addresses, or made it into a national issue? And what is King threatening when she warns "women who turn against President Carter" that "you get only as good as you give"? She says "if women are willing to . . . back their support with contributions, time and votes, Carter will go further." Does she mean that Carter's commitment to E.R.A. is contingent on women voting for him and giving money to his campaign? How then can she say his policies are based on "convictions"?

Equally strange is King's portrayal of Carter as a "populist" champion of working women. When I voted for him in 1976, I, too, thought he showed a sensitivity to the needs of working women. I can no longer think so. He has run out on his commitment to a comprehensive child-care program, a central and essential need of working parents. Continuing the slashes in his 1980 budget, the 1981 budget eliminates another 50,000 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act jobs, depriving chronically unemployed and poor women of work opportunities. His decontrol of oil prices worsened inflation, a particular burden on working women, who earn on average only 59 percent of what men earn. His deliberate creation of a recession has produced mass unemployment, with women showing higher percentages of joblessness than men and forcing men and women to compete with one another for increasingly scarce jobs.

And, finally, women's concerns are not parochial or limited to the few women's programs existing at the Federal level. Their security, along with the security of men and children, is threatened by Carter in his "born-again" hawk stance, with his revival of a cold-war atmosphere, draft registration, abandonment of SALT II and new enthusiasm for military spending and the MX missile.

In supporting Carter, women cannot be certain of any positions he will take if he is re-elected, other than that they will be governed by opportunism. Carter's "proven . . . track record" is a series of footprints going in all directions and outlined in sand. That kind of leadership does not deserve a vote of confidence or blind loyalty from women, or from anyone.

Mim Kelber

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SECOND THOUGHTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

As a people we have a strange attitude toward other peoples; we don't think it is important to understand their history. Consider, for example, the mess we have made of things in the Caribbean, particularly in Haiti and Cuba. Haitians, we say, are not entitled to claim asylum as political refugees; they are simply hungry people who want in. Today, there may be as many as 40,000 Haitians in the Bahamas. Officials there would like to be helpful but they can't tolerate an influx of this magnitude. An official has said, "We will send them back 100 times if necessary rather than allow them to stay in the Bahamas." They impose an intolerable strain on limited social services and crowd hospitals and prisons.

Yet the average American does not seem to recognize that we are largely responsible for the mess in Haiti. *The Nation* has had no illusions on this score. One of Oswald Garrison Villard's great crusades was to help Haitians win a freer and better life; in the end his effort failed but it was a gallant try. As a result we had excellent contacts in Haiti. A highly educated Haitian businessman who was fortunate enough to be given permission to leave the country now and then would come to our offices in New York and spend several days briefing us about conditions there. We knew that Washington was largely responsible for the frightful devastation in the once-lovely "Pearl of the Antilles."

Haiti used to be a lush Caribbean country; it had great plantations that produced sugar cane and a wealth of fruits. But today the land has been ravaged; there is less land under irrigation than there was two centuries ago. Prior to the uprising of 1804, Haiti accounted for 40 percent of France's foreign trade. Desperate for fuel, the Haitians nowadays burn the forests to get charcoal. The plantations have been ruined, broken up into small holdings. Erosion is literally washing away the agricultural base in Haiti (see Leonard Greenwood's fine report in *The Los Angeles Times*, May 4).

At the same time, one reads in the Travel Section of *The Los Angeles Times* (April 27, story by Jerry Hulse) that whatever Haiti's sadness—and it is a very sad place indeed—it is the safest tourist destination in the entire Caribbean. A new, smooth-as-glass $8 million highway runs from Port-au-Prince to Jacmel on the south coast so that Jackie Onassis, Truman Capote, Richard Burton and other beautiful people can have a nice ride when they want to go from the fancy resort areas to the seaside. New and ever-more-luxurious hotels and resorts are being constructed. And the leading resort spokesman has the effrontery to claim that this kind of tourism helps the Haitian people, although the truth of the matter is that resort workers are paid near-starvation wages. The Haitian peasants, patient, industrious, hungry, would be well advised, in my biased view, to burn the resorts. They are actually a drain on Haiti's wretched economy. Yet the American Ambassador insists that "if there is any hope, it is in the development of private enterprise"! Haiti is the classic example of a potentially rich small country that must be reconstructed by socialist means, like El Salvador and Nicaragua. Recently, Jean-Claude Duvalier, the Haitian dictator, made a $3 million settlement on his divorced wife—what might that sum have done for Haitian peasants?

Now consider Cuba. When Fidel Castro paid his first visit to New York, no bombs were tossed. He was regarded as an articulate, handsome and attractive guerrilla leader. I remember a meeting in Harlem at which he spoke, and a press conference called by Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, at which the couple praised Castro and his regime. But Christian Herter, Secretary of State, gave Castro a rude brushoff: drop dead, go home, he told him. But guerrilla leaders must survive. Rebuffed by Washington, Castro was more or less forced to seek Soviet aid, and thus was drawn into the Russian orbit.

Our next stupid move was to impose a worldwide embargo on trade with Cuba, which, even if not strictly enforced, was and remains a burden on the Cuban economy. Since 1959, 800,000 Cubans have fled to Miami; originally, most of them were white, but today blacks make up 15 percent or more of the total. If Carter wanted to engage in "dirty tricks," Castro has in a sense responded in kind. In Miami, of course, the consequences have been disastrous. Earlier, President Carter had a sounder idea, which was to seek some kind of accord with Castro on an issue-by-issue basis. Under Andrew Young's leadership, the Administration even began to take up the broader challenge of trying to assist Caribbean development. The United States, as Abraham Lowenthal of the Woodrow Wilson Center has pointed out, "need not run scared of Cuba's influence in the Caribbean. Havana can offer little help on the fundamental Caribbean issues of trade, finance, technology, energy and migration." Washington could offer a great deal. But that is not our policy. We regard Cuba as a military problem and seek to destroy the regime if possible.

Of late, Havana and Washington seem to be emitting signals that they would like to talk, but Castro will not agree to limit the talks to the isolated problem of migration. There is reason to believe that Castro would like to cut his commitments to the Russians, but how can he without some help? He has impressed me at times as being a sensible man. Some fourteen attempts have been made on his life by Central Intelligence creeps and Mafia types. Toledo businessman Ted Lamb was riding with him in a jeep when one of them occurred. Despite these attempts, Castro has indicated that he would be willing to open talks that might lead to better relations. But that is what Washington does *not* want. The talks would have to be tentative, they would take time, but some accords might be reached. I thought Castro quite convincing when he told an American network audience that he would have had to be out of his mind to have had any connection with the assassination of President Kennedy. The U.S. Army, Navy and Marine Corps, he said, would have charged into Cuba with all guns blazing. But this history, too, we have forgotten or prefer not to remember.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANATOMY OF COUNTERREVOLUTION

The Road to Reaction in El Salvador

CAROLYN FORCHÉ

At 5 each morning and afternoon in San Salvador, precisely at 5, thousands of tiny green parrots flock over the city, screaming and crying. They light on fountains, on the green statues of generals, on walls imbedded with jagged glass. Called los pericos, *they are so mysteriously punctual that the old people tell time by their passing.*

That predictability is matched now by the right-wing ritual of firing shots into the city air at 8 in the evening, and the staccato regularity of rifle reports, machine-gun fire and the explosion of incendiary bombs. The birds now light on concertina wire and the burnt carcasses of jeeps and trucks. With each passing, there is a longer litany of assassinations, mass murders, bomb detonations, disappearances and mutilations.

As los pericos *quieted for the evening on Sunday, March 23, Msgr. Oscar Romero stood behind the altar of the Divine Providence Hospital chapel, saying mass for the repose of a friend's mother. Scattered in the pews were the terminally ill patients of the hospital and the white-robed nuns who care for them.*

"Let's be united in faith and hope as we pray for Sarita and for ourselves," were the Archbishop's final words before he fell to his death behind the altar. His heart had been torn open by a magnum slug, a single shot fired by a hired killer at a distance of twenty meters. Two other shots in the air forced the people to the chapel floor, and the assassin climbed into a waiting automobile and left with three other men. The next day, the image of a nun kissing the forehead of the dead Archbishop was on the front pages of newspapers around the world.

San Salvador

On October 15, 1979, a "wave of euphoria swept through the American Embassy," according to one American official. That day some forty younger officers in the Salvadoran Army ousted President Carlos Humberto Romero's regime in a bloodless coup and announced the formation of a civilian-military junta which promised sweeping reforms to correct the criminal maldistribution of the country's resources and bring a long-awaited reign of social justice to the people of El Salvador.

That euphoria continued during the junta's first few days, though a few cautious and skeptical voices were heard: "It is the same military, the same National Guard and National Police, the same wealthy oligarchs entrenched in their massive haciendas. Not very much has changed. A small group of progressive military men ridded the country of some of their corrupt superiors. That's it."

Events since the coup have borne out that pessimistic assessment. The original civilian members of the junta are no longer in the Government; the number of deaths since that day has far exceeded the total under former regimes; the concentration-camp analogy of the 1970s has given way to the armed-camp reality of 1980. According to all international bodies, repression (mass slaughter, assassination, imprisonment, torture and disappearance) is worse. The current Government lacks a popular base and is indeed without the support of any sector of Salvadoran society, on the right or the left. It is bolstered only by one faction of the military and by the United States. The strategy for its survival lies with American-authored domestic reform programs, American forestalling of coups from the right and the promise of military intervention. The strings are again fastened to a puppet regime. What went wrong?

There is little reason to doubt the sincerity of the officers who engineered the coup. They had themselves come from impoverished *campesino* families. They were acutely aware of the wrongdoing of former President Romero's military mafia and determined to save the institutional face of their armed forces. These majors and lieutenants banded together to form the Permanent Council of the Armed Forces (COPEFA), a suborganization within the military.

Their first move was to seek the help of the so-called "independent opposition." They asked Román Mayorga Quiroz, rector of the Catholic university, to accept the first civilian post in the Government. Mayorga, a man with strong ties to Monsignor Romero's vocal Catholic opposition, accepted the invitation. It was said that his acceptance was even presented as a preliminary condition for the proposed coup. Mayorga was shortly to author the fledgling regime's platform.

Buttressed by the support of church and university opposition groups, the officers then selected their representative on the junta. Col. Adolfo Majano was chosen unanimously, a man known for his honesty and reliability. The second COPEFA choice was Col. Rene Guerra y Guerra. "The United States opposed the naming of Guerra y Guerra," an officer who had participated in the coup told me, "and instead proposed to us two names: Col. Jose García and Col. Jaime Abdul Gutierrez. We needed American support, and we agreed to this. Gutierrez became the second military man on the junta. García became Minister of Defense. Guerra y Guerra accepted a lesser post as Under Secretary of the Interior."

"Why," I asked, "did the Americans favor Gutierrez and García?"

"There are other ways," he said cryptically, "for you to find that out."

Once the military representatives were selected, the coup took place. The reason it was bloodless was that eleventh-

Carolyn Forché, a freelance journalist specializing in Central America, is a visiting lecturer at the University of Virginia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hour negotiations had taken place between President Romero's ruling elite and the young officers—with COPEFA promising that the generals would not be tried for their crimes and receiving in return the assurance that the former regime would vacate the National Palace peacefully. The nature and content of this agreement was withheld from the civilian members of the junta on the ground that it was "strictly an internal military matter." Thus, it had been decided from the beginning that trials would not take place, despite tremendous public pressure demanding them.

The coup was not only bloodless, it was quiet. It took by surprise the popular organizations, most legal opposition parties and even the men who were later to serve on the junta and in Cabinet positions. The Christian Democratic Party (P.D.C.) proposed former Mayor of San Salvador Morales Erlich as its representative; he was defeated by Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, representing the Popular Forum (FORO), a coalition of opposition parties (including the Christian Democrats) and fourteen labor syndicates. An engineer, Mario Antonio Andino, was named as a representative of private-enterprise groups. The five-man ruling body was complete.

With the naming of Andino, a pattern emerged, possibly providing a clue to the rationale for American support of García and Gutierrez. Both had been associated with Antel, El Salvador's telephone and telegraph company. García had been its former president, Gutierrez had been a manager. Col. Nicolas Carranza, García's second-in-command, had been a technical manager. Andino was associated with an electrical installations firm, Conelca, a subsidiary of Phelps-Dodge Corporation. Conelca was the major supplier of cable to Antel.

The Antel-Conelca connection had, it seemed, sewn up two positions on the junta and placed itself squarely in control of the armed forces. The opposition groups charged that it was more than mere coincidence that García and Carranza had been involved in questionable dealings with the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation during their tenure at Antel; it was because of those dealings that García and Carranza received American support.

There had been as yet no communications between the new junta and the "popular organizations." The latter have been described in the American press as variously leftist, Marxist-Leninist, Communist and extremist. They are, by their own description, organizations that "emerged not from the will of political leaders but from the desperate need of the people to defend themselves, both politically and, finally, when all peaceful means were exhausted, militarily." The groups represent a broad base of peasants, factory workers, small farmers, students, clerical workers and professionals.

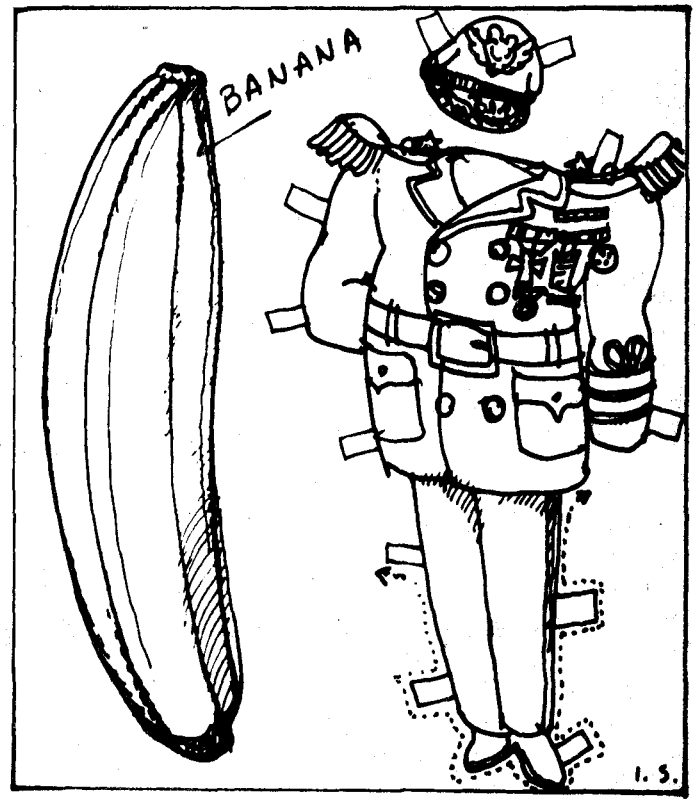
These popular organizations, caught off-guard at the time of the coup, launched a series of uncoordinated actions, occupying several villages around San Salvador. The police and army dealt with them brutally, leaving more than forty corpses in the dust of their departing vehicles.

The naming of the Cabinet took another ten days, and was not complete until the beginning of November. Some very progressive elements took part in that Cabinet, but the group that seemed to assess the situation most accurately was the National Democratic Union (U.D.N.), a socialist party of populist, democratic leanings. U.D.N. leaders called for support of the reforms, but not of the Government. They reasoned that it was preferable to neutralize the process rather than oppose it.

The "Bloque," a coalition of popular groups, began a series of occupations of public buildings, demanding higher salaries and benefits for workers. Their strategy was based on the suspicion that "the coup was really a triumph of the people which had been exploited by the oligarchy and the right"; they would not allow the Government to fall, but neither would they permit it to stabilize.

The mass media, until now strictly censored, were opened to the public, and extensive propaganda campaigns were launched not only by the left but by the right, which agitated to divide the already weakened junta. They libeled Ungo, Mayorga and the nation's Jesuit priests, and resorted to a tactic never previously employed by El Salvador's right wing: mass demonstrations by the newly formed Committee for Peace and Work. At the same time, wealthy landholders began to bribe the military. A conservative estimate holds that by December 26, 1979, some twenty-six million *colones* (or $10.4 million) had been paid for military favors.

The junta was thus attacked from both right and left, and was further weakened by the Government's internal disunity. Two key Cabinet positions were controlled by the oligarchy. Dr. Luis Nelson Segovia, who as Minister of Justice was charged with evaluating new proposals and determining their legality, was a man entirely loyal to private enterprise. Every project proposed by the first junta, including an agrarian reform plan submitted by the Minister of Agricul-



DRAWINGS BY ISADORE SELTZER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture, traveled from Segovia's hands into the hands of the National Association for Private Enterprise, the association for industrialists; rather than approve the direly needed reforms, Segovia would prolong his verdict, take the teeth out of the proposals or declare them unconstitutional. Manuel Enrique Hinds as Minister of Economics acted in concert with Segovia, blocking economically what Segovia was unable to block judicially. Together they damaged the junta irreparably.

Some reform was attempted, however. The Minister of Education, Salvador Samayoa, was able to reorganize his ministry and begin a purge of corruption. Dr. Gabriel Gallegos Valdez, Minister of Labor, demanded that fleeing multinationals pay off their workers, that job-generating programs remain intact and that the minimum wage for agricultural workers be raised. But the peasant organizations soon charged that the new wage law was not enforced. One large landholder announced that anyone seeking his lawful compensation would be paid in "bullets instead of money."

The death toll rose throughout November. Bodies were found with their thumbs tied, exactly as President Romero's security forces had tied them. The junta recognized that the murderers were low-ranking officers acting on their own, but when they pressed Defense Minister García to take action against those responsible, he neglected to do so, appearing to sanction the slaughter. The junta then failed in its attempt to strip García of his powers, and the civilian members, Ungo and Mayorga, were increasingly preoccupied with appealing to the military to end the repression.

Meanwhile, ousted members of the former regime were regrouping in ultra-rightist terrorist squads. Maj. Roberto D'Abuisson, who for nine years had directed torture activities in the National Guard, founded FAN (the National Amplio [Coalition] Front), and retired Gen. "Chele" Medrano re-established ORDEN, a banned rightist paramilitary organization, under the new name of National Democratic Front. With the financial backing of the oligarchy and the tacit approval of the military, these groups undertook the systematic elimination of the leadership of the popular organizations and the moderate opposition.

In response to the lack of implementation of even the smallest reforms, the popular organizations began occupying haciendas in the countryside. According to witnesses, including one American Peace Corps volunteer, the occupations were peaceful. The army retaliated with assaults. At Coatepeque, twenty people died in an ambush. Many others disappeared.

The Committee for Peace and Work marched on December 27, with military protection provided by low-flying formations of crop-duster planes and helicopters. Acutely aware of the true power center of the country, they bypassed the junta offices and marched to the army's Supreme Command. There they met with Colonel Carranza and demanded that the military provide security for the production forces and that "the bands of bandits be exterminated."

The following day, a group of Cabinet members presented COPEFA and the junta with an ultimatum, accusing the military of sabotaging the democratic process and naming García, Carranza and Col. Vides Casanova (chief of the National Guard) as the men responsible for the massacres occurring daily. Casanova's response was an open admission that the civilian members of the Government were in power by approval of the army, and the moment they lost this approval, they would be removed. In the next days, the Ministers of Agriculture, Education and Labor began to receive death threats.

Who was that army? Were these the same officers who had carried out a coup and expressed support for reforms? "You should know," a young officer told me later, "that before the coup took place, Col. 'Chivo' Ireheta, who was then Subsecretary of Defense, had gone to the Salvadoran Air Force and demanded that they bomb the army *cuartel* at San Carlos, where the younger officers were quartered. The air force refused to obey the order. Usually, this would be treason and carry a death penalty. Once the coup was accomplished, there was a reversion to institutional order within the military. García was in charge and still is."

"What happened to COPEFA?" I asked him.

"Colonel Marenco is head of that now. He is Chele Medrano's nephew and protégé. He reorganized COPEFA in a few months. Eighty percent of its membership changed, all of them loyal to García." He added that "García is not one of us. What you hear about the repression is true, and it comes from García's group."

On January 2, the Ministers of Education, Labor and Agriculture and the Subsecretaries of Education and Finance resigned from the Government. In the days following, more than thirty-nine officials submitted their resignations. During January 6, 7 and 8, Andino and his followers signed pro forma resignations, maintaining an uncritical stance toward the military. The military members of the junta remained, as did García and Carranza, who were still in command of the armed forces.

Probably no single resignation was more dramatic and telling than that of Salvador Samayoa. He was 29 years old, a former secondary school and university teacher, who was described by those who knew him as "brilliant, gentle and compassionate," a man singularly lacking in *machismo*. Samayoa went on television the evening of January 8 to deliver what became a farewell speech to his countrymen, family and friends. He had earlier accused García of murder and obstruction of democracy. He then emotionally announced he was joining the guerrillas of the Popular Liberation Forces. A group of armed guerrillas suddenly appeared in the studio, and Samayoa went off with them.

Among those resigning from the junta was Ungo, representing FORO. FORO then demanded that all of its people withdraw from the Government. It is important to note that the Christian Democrats were members of FORO. But as of December 29, five days before the first resignations were submitted, the P.D.C. was already negotiating with the armed forces and the American Embassy, proposing a solution of its own: a military-P.D.C. Government. This, observers believed, was a giant and decisive step toward the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americanization of the regime. The American-backed members of the military would now be provided with what Salvadorans called "a respectable mask, the moderate, democratic, American-supported P.D.C."

The party presented its conditions to the military: that they not go into the Government alone, but with another party, preferably the Social Democrats; that they conduct an open dialogue with the popular organizations; that there be no participation in the junta by representatives from private enterprise groups (which are closely associated with the right-wing terrorism), and that the platform of the armed forces specify their programs of reform with a timetable for implementation. Finally, they demanded that repression of peasants and popular organizations cease.

The army publicly accepted these conditions on January 5. Two days later, the P.D.C. chose its representatives to the junta: Hector Dada and Erlich. The third civilian member became Dr. Román Avalos Navarrete, a physician and an independent. When questioned about the political affiliation of Avalos, an exiled Salvadoran remarked: "Not even his own mother knows who he is."

In its attempt to form a new government, the P.D.C. encountered great difficulties. No other party agreed to join it. The new junta faced renewed right-wing media attacks. The repression by security forces continued. Right-wing terrorist leaders released "hit lists," signaling an intensified effort to eliminate democratic leadership. None of the conditions set by the P.D.C. had been honored, except for the willingness of the army to implement agrarian reform and the nationalization of the banks.

But the new civilian members of the junta had no more control over the military than their predecessors did. When P.D.C. headquarters was occupied by the Popular Leagues of February 28, the National Guard stormed the building, despite the emphatic request of the party that military force not be used while negotiations were in progress. Two weeks later, Mario Zamora Rivas, Attorney General of Welfare and a prominent P.D.C. member, was assassinated by the right. Subsequently, Dada resigned from the junta, the first of many P.D.C. members to withdraw their support from the regime. He was replaced by Napoleon Duarte, who returned to El Salvador after several years of exile and was thought by many to be "out of touch with Salvadoran reality."

In mid-January, the popular organizations and U.D.N. had united to form the Coordination of the Revolutionary Masses—referred to by Salvadorans as the "Coordinadora." It called for a mass demonstration in the capital on January 22, and between 100,000 and 350,000 people arrived in San Salvador from all over the country, in many cases completing their journey on foot, after vehicles were stopped in a military effort to cordon the roads. "The people were jubilant," explained one man, "no one had ever seen this country in such high spirits. It was terribly moving."

The march extended for more than seventy blocks. At 12:45 P.M. the marchers were fired upon from strategic positions. Witnesses claimed that some of the initial shots were fired from the National Palace, and the attack was immediately supported by the National Police, who had arrived with tanks. Twenty-two people were killed and the march came to a standstill. The demonstrators resisted provocation, peacefully retreating to the National University. By 3:00 P.M. the radios were under Government control. A man who owned a small shop along the march route and who witnessed the slayings later confided: "I used to support this Government, but on that day I was radicalized."

One of Monsignor Romero's last public acts was an appeal to President Carter. "I am very worried," he wrote, "by the news that the Government of the United States is studying a form of abetting the arming of El Salvador by sending military teams and advisers to 'train three Salvadoran battalions in logistics, communications and intelligence.' If this information from the newspapers is correct, the contribution of your Government, instead of promoting greater justice and peace in El Salvador, will without doubt sharpen the injustice and repression against the organizations of the people which repeatedly have been struggling to gain respect for their most fundamental human rights." He went on to accuse the American-backed regime of reverting "to repressive violence producing a total of deaths and injuries much greater than in recent military regimes."

Monsignor Romero delivered this address to his people during mass before sending it to Washington. That homily was taped, transcribed and telexed to Rome the same Sunday. The next day, the offices of the Archbishop received a call from the Vatican, warning the Monsignor to be prepared to defend his stand. Sources close to the Archbishop claim that he was aware, in his last few weeks, that his death was near, yet he continued to move without armed protection among his people.

On March 25, just two days after his assassination, the U.S. House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations held hearings on the issue of $5.7 million in military assistance for El Salvador. Despite overwhelming testimony against it by the National Council of Churches, the Washington Office on Latin America and Amnesty International, the assistance was approved on April 1. The 6-to-3 vote was interpreted by Salvadorans as a reaffirmation of the U.S. alliance with the 200 wealthy families of El Salvador and the fragmented but corrupt military that supports their interests. A dissenting vote was cast by subcommittee chairman Representative Clarence Long, a Maryland Democrat, who said the aid is "either too little or too much. It's not enough to enable the ruling junta to impose a military solution on what is essentially a civil and political question. And it's too much, because we could once again be allying ourselves with a repressive right-wing dictatorship in Latin America."

While I was in the country, a representative of the Coordinadora asked that I carry this message to the people of the United States: "We would like Americans to know *why* we have opted for armed rebellion. In practice it arises as a legitimate act of self-defense. Our platform is democratic, anti-oligarchic and revolutionary. We are concerned that the

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American people know that the Salvadoran people do not want armed confrontation with the United States."

While the $5.7 million in military aid has been given, it remains questionable whether the budgeted $300,000 in training credits will actually be used to send military advisers. Civil war, however, is inevitable—fighting is already intensive in the rural areas and this year's death toll nears 2,000. I was told that in the northern part of the country "there are so many dead that it is impossible to bury them." Corpses are routinely discovered even in San Salvador's middle-class neighborhoods, often so mutilated that they cannot be identified. The American-authored agrarian reform program has resulted in the confiscation of large tracts of land by the Government, but has been viewed as little more than a pretext for the army to occupy the countryside. In recent days, city dwellers have been advised to stockpile drinking water, foods, candles, medical supplies and lime for the disposal of human waste.

The battle lines have become clearer; they are not drawn between extreme right and extreme left with moderate opinion caught in the middle but between the vast majority of Salvadoran society and the present regime. In recent weeks, the Coordinadora was joined by a newly formed Democratic Front—a coalition of opposition parties, labor unions, the small business community and other moderate groups, who have now come to know what El Salvador's poor have always known, that "the people have nothing more to lose." □

MEDICAL INDIGENCY

A Plague on Our Hospitals

GERALDINE ALPERT and MARSHA HURST

The financial horror stories of Americans hit by catastrophic medical bills were chillingly documented in testimony during Senator Edward Kennedy's hearings on the health-care crisis in America nine years ago. Current legislative hearings have added a new litany of horror stories—from the providers of health care themselves. The near bankruptcy of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital in New York City, the closure of Philadelphia General Hospital, the critical condition of Cook County Hospital in Chicago are symptoms of a new problem of health-care financing—the threatened survival of the present hospital system.

The financial crisis of hospitals is inextricably linked to the provision of care for those families and individuals who cannot afford to pay; who are, in current terminology, "medically indigent." The uninsured and the underinsured constitute a significant and growing portion of the population as a result of a number of changes that have occurred in the provision and financing of medical care in the United States.

Increases in hospital costs during the past twenty-five years have been unparalleled in the American economy. The cost of one day of hospital care has gone up by more than 1,000 percent since 1950, rising at an especially high rate in the early 1970s. The Consumer Price Index indicates that medical costs have been increasing faster than any other major category of personal expense. By 1985, national health-care costs generally may rise 128 percent to $440 billion. Although physicians and hospital administrators are often blamed for the rising cost of medical care, the fact is that the character of hospital services has changed. New surgical techniques like transplantation, new kinds of equipment like the CAT Scanner and new diagnostic and therapeutic modes that are prolonging life for patients with once-terminal diseases have increased the costs of hospital care.

In the past, care for those without public or private sources of insurance who were unable to pay medical costs was provided in a variety of ways: through subsidies to public and private hospitals from local taxes, through the absorption of patients' bad debts by these hospitals, through state and local grant programs to hospitals, through the free services of private physicians who willingly or unwillingly did not collect their fees and through provisions in the Hill-Burton Act that required hospitals receiving Federal money to provide care for those unable to pay. As dependence on hospital-based care has grown, particularly among the poor in inner-city neighborhoods, and the costs of health services have escalated, the burden of financing this care has fallen primarily on public and private hospitals as well as on taxpayers. (In 1975, 11 percent of the total of $75 billion in health-care expenditures represented those by government; by 1978, government's share of the cost had risen to 78 percent.) The older cities in the nation are bearing a particularly heavy load, but in most cities, the flight of the middle class and the maldistribution of doctors have increased the use of hospital emergency rooms and ambulatory clinics by the poor without compensatory financial assistance from government.

A recent survey of members of the American Hospital Association disclosed that 207 hospitals in 150 cities across the nation had deficits totaling $200 million, an average of $1 million per hospital. In testimony before Representative Charles Rangel's subcommittee on health in February, Nathan Stark, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, estimated that total hospital deficits in urban areas approached $400 million nationwide. In New York City alone, lack of coverage for the medically indigent caused $125 million in voluntary hospital deficits; of that amount, $93 million originated in the outpatient departments of these hospitals.

The problems of poverty and expensive health services

Geraldine Alpert is a senior consultant at National Economic Research Associates in New York City. Marsha Hurst teaches government at John Jay College of Criminal Justice (C.U.N.Y.) and is a faculty member of the Department of Community Medicine at Mount Sinai School of Medicine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

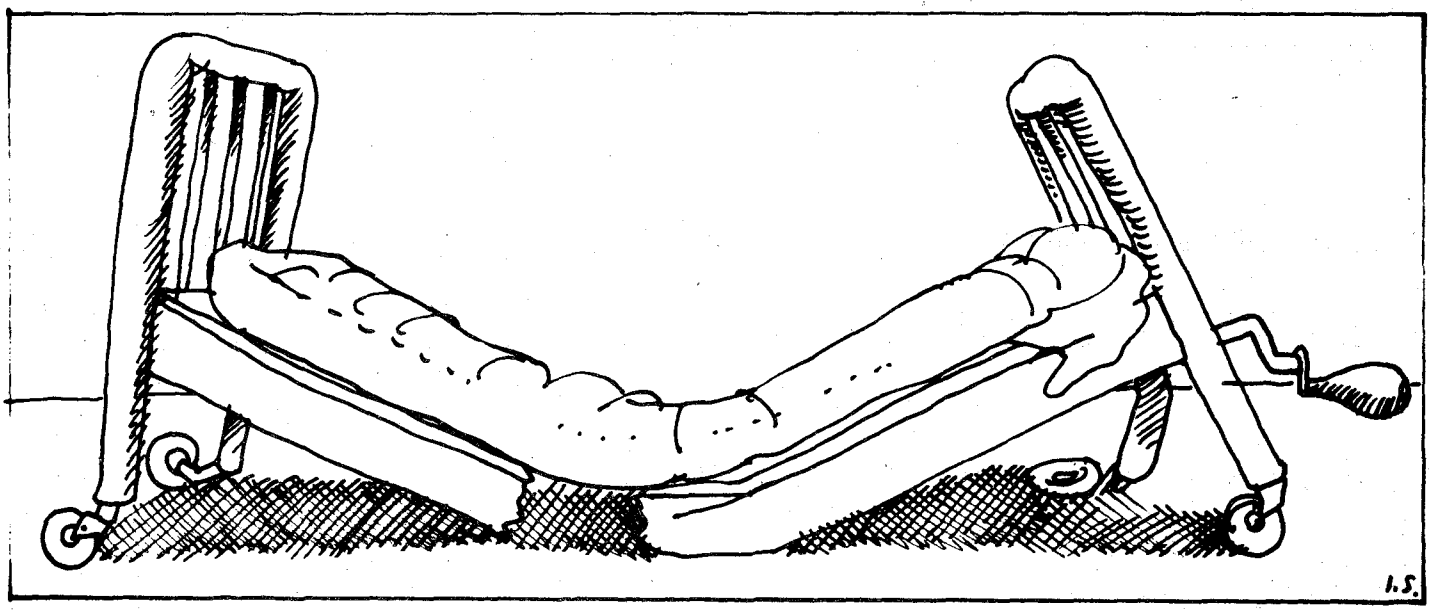
clearly transcend the boundaries of local communities and cities. Private hospitals may be able to survive in the short run by covering operating deficits with philanthropic funds or funds intended to cover the depreciation of buildings and equipment, but these methods can neither sustain hospitals' operations nor assure services for the medically indigent in the long run. Private philanthropy is dwarfed by the magnitude of public deficits. Fourteen years after the passage of the Social Security amendments establishing the Medicare and Medicaid programs, it has become obvious that these programs are not a panacea for either the hospitals or the nation's poor. As costs go up, substantial segments of the population remain medically indigent.

Medical indigency is not an insignificant problem that will disappear if benignly neglected. The medically indigent population is larger than commonly believed and it is growing. It includes the uninsured and the hidden medical indigency of the underinsured. It has a devastating impact not only on individuals and families who find themselves indigent, but also on all of us who use the services that are diminished, if not destroyed, by the adverse effects that subsidizing the uninsured have on the financial viability of medical institutions. According to the prediction of Dr. David Pomrinse, president of the Greater New York Hospital Association, as one hospital is forced into bankruptcy, "the uninsured patients will simply turn up on the doorsteps of nearby hospitals in a domino effect, leading those already troubled institutions down the path to bankruptcy court."

The size of the medically indigent population is unknown and hotly contested. Estimates vary between two million and twenty-six million, depending on the definition and data used. The simplest population to identify—presumably—is the completely uninsured population. While national estimates of the size of this group range from 5 to 8 percent of the total population, when citizens over 65 (all of whom are at least partially covered by Medicare) are removed from consideration, 12 to 13 percent of the rest, or one out of eight Americans, has no health insurance whatsoever. H.E.W. data indicate that 68 percent of the uninsured population are families with total incomes of less than $10,000 per year. Most of these people either have earnings that exceed the maximum allowed for Medicaid eligibility, or do not fit into established public assistance categories (they are not disabled, blind, or with dependent children). A significant proportion of the uninsured are young people. One out of five in the 19-to-24 age group has no health insurance coverage, according to a 1979 Congressional Budget Office study. Almost 15 percent of the uninsured population are part-time or seasonal workers, or are self-employed.

The unemployed constitute approximately 10 percent of the uninsured population. Many if not most of the people separated from their jobs through layoffs or voluntary resignations do not retain their health policies for their period of unemployment. This period can be a substantial one. For more than 20 percent of the jobless, the duration of unemployment exceeds fifteen weeks. Even those who are out of work for shorter periods of time face a waiting period before new policy benefits go into effect. In the construction industry, for example, 53 percent of workers must wait four months or longer before coverage resumes. In an industry with such high rates of unemployment and job turnover, a waiting period of many months means that even those counted as "insured" may have long periods of time when they are in fact uncovered.

Whether the estimate of uninsured is Kennedy's twenty-six million, H.E.W.'s twenty-three million, or Carter's twenty million, the population is large nationwide. In addition, the impact of the uninsured is concentrated in large cities and rural areas, where 20 percent or more of the population may not be covered. In New York State, Gov. Hugh Carey has estimated that 2.5 million people, including illegal aliens, have no health insurance. Of these 2.5 million, as many as 1.4 million may reside in New York City, which would mean that almost one out of six New Yorkers is uncovered. Large cities not only have higher concentrations of low-income families, unemployed workers and illegal aliens but also the kind of jobs that are least likely to offer health insurance benefits. Almost one-quarter of New York City's



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work force is employed in the low-coverage service sector, for example, while fewer than one-fifth are employed in services nationwide. Manufacturing, which has a high rate of coverage and a short waiting period for health insurance to be effective, employs only 17 percent of New York City's work force, as opposed to 24 percent of the national labor force.

While it would be simple to confine national concern to those with no health insurance coverage at all, millions more Americans are medically indigent because they have insufficient health insurance. The underinsured include holders of private insurance who have serious limitations on coverage and a large proportion of Medicare recipients. Medicare is a social insurance program that provides hospitalization coverage (Part A) for all persons 65 years of age or older and for persons disabled for two years. Coverage for physician visits, outpatient services and certain other services may be purchased by Medicare eligibles for an $8.70 per month ($9.60 per month as of July) premium under the voluntary Supplementary Medical Insurance plan (Part B). For the lowest-income elderly, Medicaid pays this monthly premium as well as the $60 deductible and 20 percent co-insurance for physicians' fees; but for many poor and middle-class elderly, the payment requirements, particularly for physicians' fees, dental care, home health care and so forth, constitute either substantial hardship or a significant barrier to use of services. Moreover, where physicians' charges exceed Medicare fee schedules, the elderly may face substantial out-of-pocket costs.

No service covered by Medicare is unlimited, including hospitalization. During the covered ninety-day portion of hospitalization, beneficiaries must pay a $180 deductible for the first day, followed by co-insurance of $45 per day for the sixty-first day through the ninetieth day. Sixty additional days are "reserve days," which can be used only once in a lifetime and require a $90 per day co-insurance payment. In addition, for hospitalization insurance to begin again, there must be a sixty-day interval out of hospital before the next "benefit period." A final hardship for many Medicare recipients is that their nursing-home coverage (free for the first twenty days; $22.50 per day co-insurance for the next eighty days) ends after 100 days.

The most deeply hidden category of medical indigency comprises the privately insured middle-class or working-class families who do not realize they are underinsured until catastrophic or chronic illness strikes, or until they face a health problem requiring extensive care. Frequently an individual with a mild chronic condition finds he or she cannot obtain insurance coverage for illnesses related to that condition. Should such illness strike, the insurance holder may be financially destroyed by the cost of treatment for uncovered services.

Health expenses relating to pre-existing conditions, such as hearing or sight loss, are often not covered by insurance. Most people have limitations on their coverage related to length of hospital stay (twenty-one days under Blue Cross) that make expenses for lengthy catastrophic illness impossible to meet. Finally, loopholes in coverage frequently do not show up until the family faces a medical crisis that turns out to be uninsured or underinsured. In the 1971 Kennedy testimony, the classic case was intensive care and/or surgery for infants under 15 days old, which at that time was uncovered in virtually all policies. Today the case is more likely to involve expensive out-of-hospital care.

The structure of health insurance has not adapted to changing modes of medical care. While medicine shifted from inpatient to outpatient care, insurance coverage failed to keep pace. Although the average length of stay has declined, it is the hospital stay for which most people have adequate coverage. Ambulatory care, outpatient laboratory and other diagnostic work, home health care and dental services are poorly covered in many group and individual policies. In 1976, while 77 percent of the population were covered for some hospitalization by private insurance, only 58 percent were covered for office and home visits, and 22 percent for dental care. According to Blue Cross, 44 percent of the population today are covered for outpatient psychiatric fees, but there is still a large deductible and substantial co-insurance. This means a family faced with three sessions per week with a psychiatrist at $50 per session could still be paying more than $100 per week for treatment.

Changes in coverage are taking place, but these have been slow in coming, insufficient to meet people's needs fully and expensive for insurance companies to provide. As health insurance premium costs have risen, employers and individual purchasers of insurance have not always been willing to pay these increased costs even when added coverage could be purchased. A middle-class family with Blue Cross/Blue Shield and Major Medical policies will probably still find itself unable to pay for such expensive outpatient care as extended chemotherapy, radiotherapy, home health care or psychiatric care.

With pressure mounting from the hospital lobby and consumer groups, new schemes to pay for the health costs of the medically indigent have been recently forthcoming. In December, New York's junior Senator, Democrat Daniel Pat-

THE NATION ON THE AIR

WBAI-FM 92.5

June 20—7:30-8:30 P.M.

Elizabeth Pochoda, Literary Editor of *The Nation*, with Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, author of *Off Center*, and other guests.

WRVR-FM 106.7

"New York Talk," Sundays—7-8 A.M.

Host Jeff Siegel interviewing *Nation* contributors

June 15—Andrew Houlding on wiretapping

June 22—Lawrence Alloway on the New York art scene

June 29—Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz on Kissinger and Bangladesh

July 6—Penny Lernoux, Latin American correspondent of *The Nation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rick Moynihan, introduced a bill based on a study by New York City Council president Carol Bellamy to revise the Federal formula for Medicaid financing to the states. The new formula would better reflect the needs of states with a large number of poor and dependent persons. More recently, New York's senior Senator, Republican Jacob Javits, has been preparing a bill, the Financially Distressed Hospital Assistance Act, to be filed in June, that would attack the problem of the effects of medical indigency on hospital services by funding ambulatory-care deficits of hospitals.

These efforts and others like them that are sure to emerge as the Republican and Democratic platform committees complete their deliberations will only succeed if they recognize the inextricable links between the inadequacy of public and private health insurance and the financial woes of public and private hospitals. □

RETURN OF BELAUNDE

Old Face, New Problems in Peru

PENNY LERNOUX

Peru's first Presidential and congressional elections in seventeen years could hardly be described as a jubilant occasion. Two-fifths of the electorate failed to vote in the May 18 elections, and there was none of the carnival atmosphere that normally welcomes a new regime in Latin America. The campaign itself was a dull affair, though one would think that a dozen years of military dictatorship would raise some questions. In fact, the generals' nationalistic, leftist revolution might never have been: Fernando Belaúnde Terry, the man they overthrew in 1968, was re-elected President. He will take office in July.

A well-meaning but ineffectual executive who was booted from office by a well-meaning, ultimately ineffectual general, Belaúnde offers no surprises and inspires few illusions. Peruvian political analysts explain his not unexpected victory as a popular rejection of military rule (better the civilians bungle government than the military—at least there is less repression).

At any rate, Belaúnde is a known quantity, with tested democratic convictions. Fourteen other contenders for the Presidency were either unknowns, which includes most of the five leftist candidates (as usual, squabbling among themselves), or they represented doubtful alliances, such as the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA), which has its origins on the left but long ago compromised with the right and the military. The platforms of all fifteen made insipid, repetitive reading, which may also explain why the voters chose the courtly mannered populist—at least Belaúnde's face is familiar. Tragically few Peruvians know anything of politics, as a survey of political attitudes in Lima shows. Carried out by social scientists from the Catholic University, the interviews revealed that only 30 percent could say what a constitution is and only 10 percent could state the work of a constituent assembly elected in 1978. A mere 5 percent had heard of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, founder of APRA and chief ideologist for Latin America's democratic left parties; just 6 percent identified Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado, the man who seized power in 1968 to lead Latin America's first left-wing military revolution.

While Velasco's reforms hardly seem revolutionary at this distance, particularly since so many were discarded by his successors (Belaúnde undoubtedly will do away with others), the advent of an anti-capitalist, anti-Communist military regime in Latin America excited considerable interest at the time, the belief being that Peru would set a pattern for other nationalistic, nonaligned military governments. The Peruvian experience proved an exception to the united rightward march of the continent's armies and the Velasco Government did achieve some fundamental advances, including a sweeping agrarian reform that broke the large landowners' stranglehold on Peruvian politics. The Government also nationalized the oil and fishing industries and parts of the mining sector, instituted a major educational reform and encouraged rural and industrial cooperatives.

Relations with Washington soured after the expropriation of Exxon's Peruvian subsidiary, a key factor in the 1968 coup. (The military accused Belaúnde of selling out to Exxon in an under-the-table deal, a charge later verified by Belaúnde's Finance Minister, Manuel Ulloa, who said that the Government had given in too easily to outside pressures, including the State Department's lobby for Exxon. If we had it to do over again, Ulloa said at the time, we would expropriate the company.) Stiff fines were imposed by the U.S. Congress, which reduced Peru's sugar quota after the Government nationalized W. R. Grace's sugar plantations. But the Nixon Administration never imposed them, possibly because it feared such pressure might push the generals into the arms of their neighbor in Chile, Salvador Allende. In any case, the U.S. business community in Peru opposed sanctions on the ground that Exxon and Grace had got what they deserved.

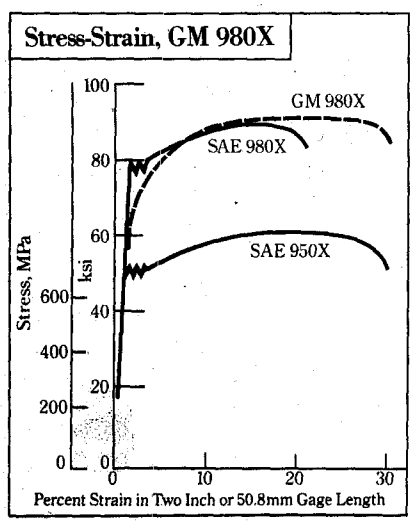
Though well-intentioned, Velasco's reforms affected only a small percentage of the population (in rural areas, for example, only one-third of the peasants benefited from land redistribution). Most of the remainder—or the majority of the sixteen million population—are as impoverished and frustrated today as they were in 1968, only now there are 6.4 million more of them. For all the rhetoric of self-development and popular participation, the military consistently refused to countenance public criticism (Peru's newspapers were confiscated) and such independent organizations as labor unions. After the sickly Velasco was removed from office in a bloodless palace coup in 1975, repression—and

Penny Lernoux, The Nation*'s Latin American correspondent, is the author of the recently released* Cry of the People *(Doubleday), a survey of the role the Catholic Church has played in political change in Latin America.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ductility Factor

The use of high strength, low alloy steel has been severely limited, due to its low ductility. Now, a simple heat treating and controlled cooling process, developed at the General Motors Research Laboratories, has successfully enhanced formability properties without sacrificing strength.



A comparison of the stress-strain behavior of GM 980X, SAE 980X, and SAE 950X steels. GM 980X offers greater ductility at the same strength as SAE 980X, and greater strength at the same ductility as SAE 950X.

Scanning electron microscope micrograph of dual phase steel at a magnification of 2,000. The matrix (background) is ferrite; the second phase is martensite.

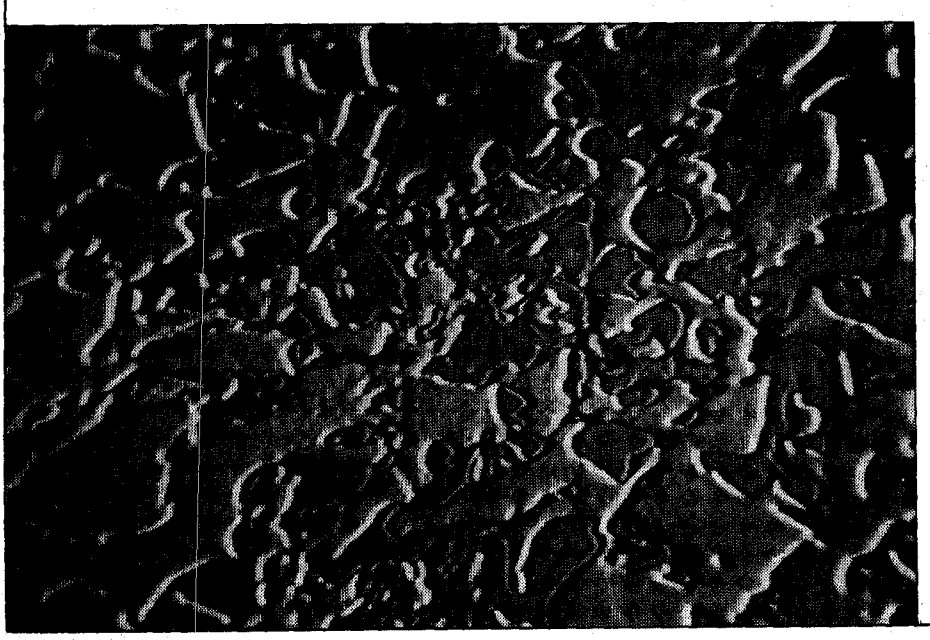
FOR SOME TIME, automotive engineers and designers have been faced with the challenge of building cars light enough to get good gas mileage, but still roomy enough to comfortably transport four or five passengers. One technique which has proved fruitful is materials substitution.

Lighter materials, such as aluminum alloys and plastics and high strength, low alloy steels (HSLA), are being phased into new vehicle designs to replace certain plain carbon steel components. Each, though, has displayed inherent problems which limit its utilization.

Unlike plastics and aluminum, however, HSLA steels have the same density as plain carbon steel. Weight reduction is achieved because thinner sections (less volume) can be used to carry the same load. Since the formability (ductility) of most high strength steels is poor, though, it has only been possible to form simple shapes from it. This has severely limited the widespread use of HSLA steels (such as SAE 980X) for auto components. New hope for the increased utilization of HSLA steel has arisen, however, with the development of a new dual-phase steel, GM 980X, at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

General Motors is not in the steel business, and GM 980X is not a brand of steel. GM 980X is the designation for a type of steel displaying mechanical properties similar to those of the samples first formulated at the General Motors Research Laboratories. "GM" in the designation indicates that the steel is a variation of the conventional SAE 980X grade. In the standard SAE system for material identification, "9" designates that the steel is HSLA. "80" is the nominal yield strength of the metal in thousands of pounds per square inch. The "X" denotes a micro-alloyed steel—one containing on the order of 0.1% of other metals such as vanadium, columbium, titanium, or zirconium as a strengthening agent.

GM 980X displays the same strength, after strain hardening, as SAE 980X steel, but has far more ductility. This characteristic allows it to be formed into various complex shapes which were previously thought to be impossible with HSLA steels. The superior formability of GM 980X has substantially increased the utilization of HSLA steel in the manufacturing of automotive components such as wheel discs and rims, bumper face bars and reinforcements, control arms, and steering coupling reinforcements.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. M.S. Rashid, discoverer of the technique to make GM 980X steel, comments, "I was working on another project using HSLA steel, when I noticed that if SAE 980X steel is heated above its eutectoid temperature (the temperature at which the crystalline structure of metal is transformed) for a few minutes, and cooled under controlled conditions, the steel developed significantly higher ductility and strain-hardening characteristics, with no reduction in tensile strength."

FURTHER experiments proved that the key variables to make GM 980X are steel chemistry, heating time and temperature, and the rate at which the steel is cooled. Specimens of SAE 980X were heated in a neutral salt bath, then cooled to room temperature with cooling rates ranging from 5° to 14°C/sec. (9° to 26°F/sec.). Dr. Rashid notes, "We found that the maximum total elongation resulted when the cooling rate was 9°C/sec. (16°F), and the lowest total elongation resulted from the highest cooling rate (14°C or 26°F/sec.)."

GM 980X steel has a high strain-hardening coefficient or n value, accompanied by a large total elongation. The n value gives a measure of the ability of the metal to distribute strain. The higher the n value, the more uniform the strain distribution and the greater the resistance of the metal to necking (localized hour-glass-shaped thinning that stretched metals display just prior to breaking). Tests have proved that GM 980X distributes strain more uniformly than SAE 980X, has a greater resistance to necking, and thus has far superior formability.

"The superior formability of GM 980X compared to SAE 980X steel appears to depend on the nature of two microstructural constituents, a ferrite matrix (the principal microstructural component) with a very high strain-hardening coefficient, and a deformable martensite (the other crystalline structure) phase. In the SAE 980X, failure occurs after the ferrite becomes highly strained, but when the GM 980X ferrite is highly strained, strain is apparently transferred to the martensite phase, and it also deforms.

"Therefore, voids leading to failure do not form until after more extensive deformation has occurred and the martensite phase is also highly strained. Obviously, the exact nature of these constituents must be important, and any variations in the nature of these constituents could influence formability. This is the subject of ongoing research."

Dr. Rashid's discovery represents a significant breakthrough in the area of steel development. His findings have opened the door to a new class of materials and have completely disproved the commonly held belief that high strength steel is not a practical material for extensive automotive application. "At GM, we've done what was previously thought to be impossible," says Dr. Rashid, "and now we're hard at work to find an even stronger and more ductile steel to meet the needs of the future."

THE MAN BEHIND THE WORK

M.S. Rashid is a Senior Research Engineer in the Metallurgy Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories. He was born in the city of Vellore in Tamil Nadu (Madras), India, and attended the College of Engineering at the University of Madras—Guindy. He came to the United States in 1963 and was awarded a Ph.D. in Metallurgical Engineering from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1969.

After a three year Post-Doctoral Fellowship at Iowa State University, he joined the staff of the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Rashid is continuing his investigations into the development of even more ductile high strength, low alloy steels. When not in the lab, he enjoys relaxing by playing tennis and racquetball with his wife, Kulsum.

GM General Motors
People building transportation to serve people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

military corruption—accelerated.

In hock to foreign banks for $8.2 billion, the spendthrift generals were forced to put through an austerity program in 1977 demanded by the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.). It included a 13 percent devaluation, a wage freeze, whopping rises in public utility rates and a 60 percent increase in the price of gasoline. Caught between the I.M.F.'s intransigence and bankruptcy, the Government tried to put through the price hikes, only to set off the worst national strike in sixty years. The military reacted by massacring students in the southern sierra region of Huancayo and arresting 700 labor leaders in Lima alone. Industries were authorized to dismiss 3,000 striking workers. Repression continued throughout the next two years, with mass arrests of protesters and military occupation of such "subversive" zones as the mining regions. Amnesty International reported that more than 2,000 civilians were brought before military courts as "political-social" prisoners. Even during elections for the 1978 constituent assembly, which was supposed to be the first stage in the democratization process, ten leaders of left-wing political parties who were candidates in the election were forcibly exiled. Although the military managed to stabilize the economy by the beginning of this year, at least temporarily, the cost in suffering has been enormous. Real wages have declined by 50 percent since 1972 (the price of bread alone rose 1,000 percent). Infant mortality increased by 30 percent, and many families were reduced to eating chicken feed.

While there may be less repression under Belaúnde, it is unlikely that his Government will solve Peru's myriad social and economic problems, including the foreign debt, servicing of which will cost the country $1.4 billion this year, and roaring inflation, which could go as high as 100 percent. Belaúnde claims that nationalization has delayed industrial and social development and that the return of state-controlled industries to private hands will help produce the million new jobs he promised in his Presidential campaign. But the experience of other Latin American nations shows that such promises are empty. The region's industries employ only 14 percent of Latin American workers, and it is unlikely that Peru's commodity-dependent economy can expand sufficiently to absorb the 50 percent of the labor force that are unemployed or underemployed, not to mention the new workers pouring into the marketplace (more than half the population are under 15). As in his previous period in government, the 67-year-old architect harps on his pet project, an Amazon highway, as if one road can solve all the nation's troubles.

Following the usual pattern for Latin American "democracies," Peru's military will still have a say in the running of things. (Belaúnde claims he has "no rancor" against the generals, but, on the contrary, a "special affection.") Military courts are still empowered to judge civilians on vague charges of subversion; under a revised military code civilians can be court-martialed for insulting or offending in public any member of the armed forces. Nor is Belaúnde expected to tamper with military privileges, which include the highest salaries in Government (an army lieutenant earns four times the salary of a teacher).

Mario Vargas Llosa, Peru's best-known novelist, has often observed that it doesn't matter whether the reformer is a general, an architect-politician or a leftist intellectual. In Latin America they are all "fucked up" by the existing social structures. Thus the "savior" of the moment eventually reverts to form, repeating the mistakes and excesses of his predecessor. If one is to judge by Peruvian history in this century, Belaúnde's successor will once again be a general. □

War

(Continued From Front Cover)

religious life, in other words, from their social locations and relations, or attributed it to the misty metaphysics of "naturalness," the article of faith that women were somehow born inherently different from (read, superior to) men.

Much of the opposition of the antisuffragists derived from a fear that if women got the vote, they would forsake their traditional roles. Forced to deny this contention, some suffragists made the argument that women's traditional concerns were "natural" and would not be repudiated if they were free to vote. The conceptual confusion that resulted from trying to juggle tradition and the espousal of change led Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the movement's leading polemicist, to advocate, at different times, the notion that men and women were fundamentally alike and the belief that they were inherently different—that men were more warlike, women more pacific. Stanton's acceptance of the natural-difference argument finally led her to a denunciation of the male element in civilization. Her vehemence reached its peak in a speech in 1868 which so aptly summarizes the feminist version of the natural-difference idea that it deserves to be quoted at length:

> The male element is a destructive force, stern, selfish, aggrandizing, loving war, violence, conquest, acquisition, breeding in the material and moral world alike discord, disorder, disease and death. See what a record of blood and cruelty the pages of history reveal! Through what slavery, and slaughter, and sacrifice, through what inquisitions and imprisonments, pains and persecutions, black codes and gloomy creeds, the soul of humanity has struggled for the centuries, while mercy has veiled her face and all hearts have been dead alike to love and hope! The male element has held high carnival thus far, it has fairly run riot from the beginning, overpowering the feminine element everywhere, crushing out the diviner qualities in human nature.

The image enunciated by Stanton holds that the male element—destructive and selfish—is in control. The female element—loving and virtuous—is enslaved and intimidated. If social chaos is to be prevented, and destruction averted, the balance must be tipped to the feminine. Once this is ac-

Jean Bethke Elshtain is associate professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

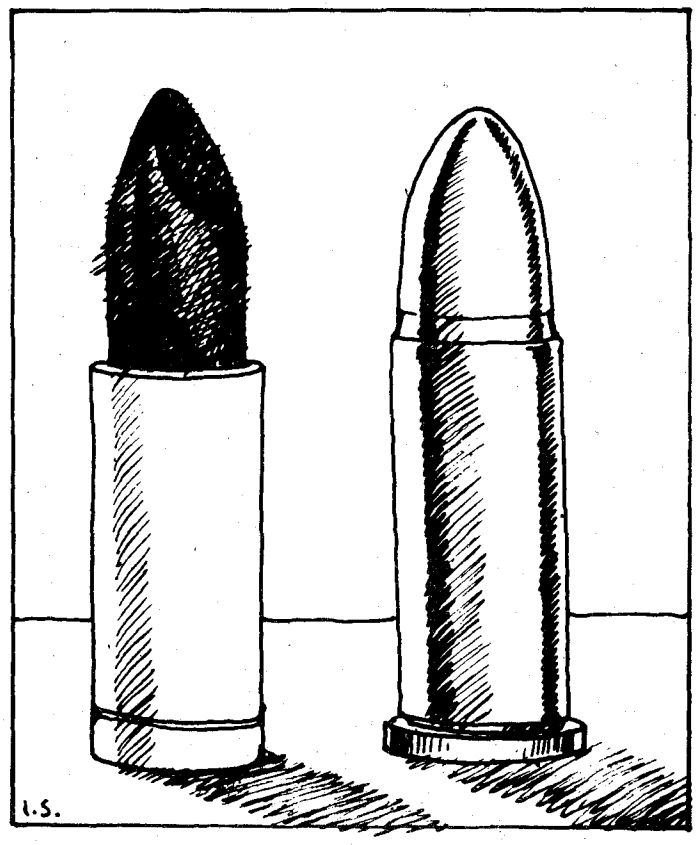
complished, peace will ensue. Theodore Parker, a male suffragist, cast a backward glance at human history and observed that if women had been in political control, "I doubt that we should have butchered the Indians with such exterminating savagery, that in fifty years, we should have spent seven hundred millions of dollars for war, and now, in time of peace, send twenty annual millions more to the same waste." As the suffrage fight progressed to its conclusion, women increasingly proclaimed their purity and pacificity in religious terms with one contending that Christ himself received his "sweet, tender, suffering humanity . . . wholly from woman." Women, consequently, "have a greater share in Him than men have." If elected to public office, women would "far more effectively guard the morals of society, and the sanitary conditions of cities." The social triumph of Christ's golden rule would be a corollary achievement.

Jane Addams, a feminist and a pacifist best known for founding Hull House in Chicago, argued not that woman's innate nature made her more devoted to compassion and peace but that woman's nurturing functions gave her such capacities and sensibilities. Addams wrote at length of the "maternal affection and solicitude, in woman's remembering heart," which she hoped would coalesce into a force against war and for the protection of all that was young and vulnerable. She believed women had "a profound imperative to preserve human life," which she traced back to the beginnings of human society when, she claimed, primitive women refused to share the nomadic life and forced men to adopt a fixed abode in which children might be better and more safely reared. Addams was instrumental in forming the Women's Peace Party in 1915 to fight for international amity and world law. Item 6 on the party platform called for "the further humanizing of governments by the extension of the suffrage to women." Addams saw an unalterable cleavage between militarism and feminism. Militarism, to her, was both war (the "crudest form of violence") and an acceptance of the Machiavellian view that government ultimately rests upon a base of physical force. "It would be absurd," she wrote, "for women even to suggest equal rights in a world governed solely by physical force, and feminism must necessarily assert the ultimate supremacy of moral agencies. Inevitably the two are in eternal opposition."

Women in the Women's Peace Party maintained that their roles as mothers, rather than some a priori "nature," gave them a vested interest in peace. The first annual meeting of the party was held in Washington in January 1916. During that year, mass meetings were convened all over the country, and there were eventually 165 group memberships totaling some 40,000 women. The American Party was a section of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace, which had branches in fifteen countries. In 1919, an International Congress of Women condemned the Treaty of Versailles on the grounds that it sanctioned secret diplomacy, denied self-determination, recognized the rights of victors to spoils of war and, particularly through its treatment of Germany and Austria, created discords and animosities that would lead to future wars.

Women have been at the forefront of peace movements in the decades since 1919, and the notion that women have a vested interest in peace is still with us. The problem both in 1919 and now is how women can translate peace-minded proclivities, assuming these exist, into political power, action and policy. Ironically, the very assumption of unique sex differences or a special maternal solicitude which leads to notions of women's pacificity and nonwarlike mentality also, over the years as part of a larger metaphor of "woman," militated against real women entering the "rough," decidedly nonpacific sphere of men in order to struggle to prevent wars on the terrain on which they were created. Addams encouraged this paralyzing dichotomy by arguing that feminism and militarism (for her, politics was indistinguishable from the latter) are and must remain in "eternal opposition" and that women must assert the supremacy of moral agencies.

The dilemma confronted by the feminist "second wave" from the 1960s to the present on the question of women's "nature" and its relation to issues of war and peace can be stated somewhat as follows: The assertion of identical male and female natures (men are not born "men" and women are not born "women" but become such through interaction with a social environment that reproduces men and women along recognizable, distinguishable and stereotypical lines) has the advantage of reducing naïve assumptions concerning women's innate goodness but the disadvantage of having to look to men as examples of what women can or shall become once they are "liberated." There are feminists to whom this is unsatisfactory, either because they accept the "natural-difference" hypothesis or because they hold that "feminine principles" or a specifical-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly female way of thinking, which one contemporary feminist theorist dubs "maternal thought," have indeed emerged over the years and have been run roughshod over by the male-dominated society. This group of feminists insist that the whole thrust of the women's movement should be to articulate those principles or to legitimate a specifically female way of seeing, one tied inescapably to women's traditional functions as mothers and keepers of the hearth.

This conceptual and political dilemma was rudely forced upon the women's movement when President Carter discovered the greatest threat to world peace since the end of World War II with the Russian incursion into Afghanistan. For the first time in the history of this country, the prospect loomed that women would not only "serve" by "being there," that is, as one of the reasons men were fighting (to protect home and Mom), or by providing—let us be blunt—cannon fodder with the bodies of their sons, but that women would actually be killing and being killed. The logic of the feminist "environment" posture—that women are made, not born and, moreover, that everything men can do women can do or should be able to attempt—would seem to preclude a powerful antiwar, or anti-women-as-warriors stance. As the argument crudely gets put: If women want equal rights and the right to compete equally, they must be prepared for equal responsibilities, including defending their country in time of crisis. Unfortunately, this canard, which serves as a frequent justification for an antifeminist stance, whether from men or the likes of Phyllis Schlafly, gained bitter credence when Carter tied passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to women's draftability, thus transforming the latter into a Presidential *pro*-feminist effort.

Feminists were in a dilemma. They could either go the "natural-difference" route or the "gung ho" route—the media seemed especially enchanted with Elizabeth Taylor Warner's relish at the thought of toting a gun and being in the very thick of battle, and declaring that anyone who disagreed, including her husband, the United States Senator, was a benighted sexist—or articulate some compelling alternative. This compelling alternative seems unlikely to spring from the lips or pens of the movement's best-known and most frequently quoted "stars," although some came out strongly against Carter's directives and for a feminist posture against cold-war rhetoric and policies.

These moves were surely important, but the real need at the moment is for the securing of a conceptual foundation rather than a series of ad hoc responses to crisis. Women's links to an antiwar sentiment and politics must be assayed and articulated without falling into mystifications about female purity and innate "niceness." In other words, feminist thinkers must conceptually appropriate those aspects of traditional definitions of both femininity and feminism that would help to create ways of seeing the world, America's role in it and the responsibilities of American citizens that are powerfully and unsentimentally against war in our post-Holocaust, nuclear epoch. This means rejecting those who, in the name of feminism, portray the "new woman" as the "old man," battle cry and all, an Amazon who can slay people with the best of them, and rejecting as well those who peer at the world through rosy-tinted glasses that see God in Her Heaven and all right with the world once nasty men are out of it.

Sandy Close, in her March 29 *Nation* article "War and Peace and the Left," called for the women's movement to remain open to "the radical new forces around us." One of these radical new forces is a feminist rethinking of the possibility that women as a group do indeed tend to have a set of interests in, as Sara Ruddick puts it, the preservation and growth of vulnerable human life. That is, by engaging in specific, socially located practices (whether as biological mothers or as women who "mother" like Mother Teresa), women acquire certain conceptions and virtues, values and attitudes, through which they "measure themselves and interpret their actions." "It is no great sorrow," Ruddick writes in a forthcoming essay, "that some others never acquire humility, resilient good humor, realism, respect for persons and responsiveness to growth. . . . What is a great sorrow is to find the task itself miscredited, sentimentalized and devalued."

The task that confronts feminism is to determine how women can transform maternal thought into feminist consciousness, can, as it were, bring their perspectives and values to bear in a world that holds human life very cheaply indeed. If women fail in this task—fail to give a robust account of themselves, to couch their arguments in the language of public speech rather than private sentiment—another generation of mothers may well "muse sadly, and murmur/Your doings as boys," as Hardy wrote, only this time the lament could well be for daughters as well as sons. Why have women been so willing to sacrifice their male children? Why have those unwilling to do so been so politically impotent to prevent it? How, in the future, can this thing—this evil thing Carter has recently, unconscionably, unleashed upon us and tapped within us—be stopped?

This task can be accomplished only if feminists move toward the articulation of a theory that goes beyond a politics of self-interested reaction toward a politics that incorporates systematically a vision of social justice and resolute compassion into its conceptual heart. For example: feminist political thinkers must begin to make their contribution, in a rigorous, ongoing way, to augment the efforts now being mounted against the old notion of the "just war," an idea that must be challenged in the nuclear age. Such a feminist politics and theory would at least begin to pave the way for a dialogue with that potential constituency that has thus far been alienated from the feminist movement along lines of class, race, religion and traditional beliefs. The translation of such a theory into action would require, among other things, organizing locally against the draft, the threat of nuclear power and the unchecked spiral of military spending. Women as a force for peace were never more needed, and feminists have a particular responsibility to formulate and to bring into the public forum a vital voice against the apocalypse. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Powers of Darkness

ROBERT SHERRILL

THE AGE OF SURVEILLANCE: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System. *By Frank J. Donner. Alfred A. Knopf. 554 pp. $17.95.*

It must say something about the people of this country, or at least about their leaders, that they would name two of the most prominent buildings in Washington after fascists. I'm referring to the James Forrestal Building, which fittingly houses the industry-oriented Department of Energy, and the J. Edgar Hoover Building, which of course is the sanctuary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Forrestal, at least in his last years, and Hoover, for his entire public life, were by any measure true fascists. But Forrestal, as his suicide showed, was mentally unbalanced, and that undoubtedly accounts for some of his politics. Hoover, on the other hand, was a natural fascist, a fascist by intellectual chemistry and temperament and instinct and gut passion. His record clearly says that he was an ideological pervert. His faith was in the powers of darkness. His joy was in hurting. Only people so simple-minded that they still hold membership in Kellogg's Junior G-men would not concede that if Hoover had been a German bureaucrat during the Third Reich he would have served with great imagination and enthusiasm. Frank Donner tells us that Hoover (who sat on information that might have alerted the military to the upcoming attack on Pearl Harbor) "apparently saw nothing wrong with Nazism on either political or humanitarian grounds. Long after Hitler came to power, Hoover maintained contact with top Nazi police officials, exchanging requests for information. . . . The Bureau also cooperated with the International Police Commission, now known as Interpol, despite warnings that it was German-dominated. It was not until December 4, 1941, three days before Pearl Harbor, that Hoover broke Bureau ties with it—and then as the result of urging by a conference of top FBI executives."

Donner's *The Age of Surveillance* is the only book I know of that straightforwardly—without the slightest hyperbole but without drawing back from the only conclusion possible—portrays Hoover and the F.B.I. as the fascistic machine that they were, "a political police force with a counterrevolutionary mission typical of such units in nondemocratic societies."

I do not believe Donner uses the word fascist anywhere in the book. That isn't his style. But, on the other hand, he doesn't have to. We have instead such passages as this, winding up an account of one of Hoover's most intense anti-black campaigns:

> The Panther assault claimed twenty-eight dead over an eighteen-month period, some direct victims of aggressive intelligence actions and others traceable to Bureau-assisted feuds. The Bureau unleashed a reign of terror that crushed the organization and neutralized its leadership through death, imprisonment, and exile. Its ferocity and cruelty can only be explained by a racism that holds the lives of blacks cheaply. For the FBI, its black targets were not merely outlaws deprived, as in the case of Communists, of civic identity but bestial and inhuman. The black COINTELPROs plunge us into a fen of horror, a nativist Final Solution, justified as violence prevention and bureaucratically programmed in a stunning gloss on Hannah Arendt's "banality of evil."

After Donner had sent his manuscript to the publisher, further evidence of Hoover's attitude emerged with the disclosure by *The New York Times* in February that Hoover twice blocked the Justice Department from prosecuting four Klansmen who bombed a Birmingham church and killed four black children in 1963.

Hoover's mission was to make a majority of Americans hate a minority. That the minority included blacks and Spanish-speaking Americans added to the pleasure he derived from his mission, but race was secondary to ideology. He wanted to crush anyone who was against the American Legion-Chamber of Commerce-Clint Murchison status quo. To do this, Hoover used "the intelligence arts of propaganda, deception, infiltration (he had access to all the sources of power with a threat potential), wiretapping, and media leaks . . . Congressional blackmail and fear of blackmail."

Much of the F.B.I. portion of Donner's book is an elaborate exposé of these intelligence arts.

But I'd better stop at this point to make clear that the scope of the book as a history and diagnosis of the domestic intelligence network goes far beyond the F.B.I. and includes military spies, Internal Revenue Service spies, White House spies, grand jury spies and the disease of political spying in general. I should also say without further ado that Donner has put together the best book on the subject that I've ever encountered. In fact, I can't think of any other one book that comes even close to doing the job he's done.

Nevertheless, while Donner does wander into all the back alleys and sewers of domestic spying, it is the F.B.I. that he concentrates on because that's where most of the rats—to use one of Mr. Hoover's favorite words—are to be found.

Hoover would never have succeeded if the national frame of mind had not been ready to receive, believe and act on the crap he handed out. Americans were vulnerable to Hoover's hokum, says Donner, because Americans are paranoid about the "Communist conspiracy." Donner doesn't think we have simply "a conventional civic and political opposition to Communism, domestic or foreign." He thinks we actually have "a mania that mobilizes the entire society in a comprehensive *Kulturkampf*. . . . Unlike 'normal' behavior, the paranoid style regards conspiracy—huge, all-embracing conspiracies—as the *motive force* in historical events."

I gather that Donner, because the belief in "huge, all-embracing" conspiracies has done so much damage to the national psyche, tries to avoid believing in them himself. But, being a conspiracist, I must say that his entire book seems to me proof that Hoover was the center of a huge, all-embracing conspiracy by big business and by big business's politicians to reduce the

Robert Sherrill is The Nation*'s White House correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

threat of populist change. Donner acknowledges, early on, that Hoover was so successful at stirring up anti-Communist hysteria that today we are self-conscious when we talk about redistributing wealth or when we use phrases like "working class" and "class struggle." Donner comes close to saying that Hoover was the chief instrument of a big-business conspiracy, but he stops short of saying it, much less trying to prove it. And I'm sorry about that.

The saddest thing about Americans falling for guys like Hoover—even thinking of him as a godlike protector—is that he and his soulmates in the military intelligence and I.R.S. forces were so goddamned dumb and incompetent. If they had been smart, efficient fellows, there might have been some excuse for the public's gullibility. But they weren't. They often acted with what Donner calls "a blend of Keystone Kops and Kafka."

A few examples:

§ Military spies performed, at different times, surveillance on a Halloween party for elementary schoolchildren, a Godfrey Cambridge concert, a procession of black Olympic stars and a conference of priests protesting their archbishop's position on birth control.

§ When the Poor People's March was ready to get underway in 1968, there was a rally at Martin Luther King's gravesite. Coretta King gave a speech in which she predicted that those on the march would make her husband's famous "dream" come true. The dozens of Army spies at the rally reported Mrs. King's remarks to their commanders at Fort Holabird, who frantically ordered the agents to "find out what dream she is referring to."

§ Over a period of many years, F.B.I. agents compiled a 1,500-page file on a distinguished Yale law professor, whom they believed to be a member of a Communist cell in Seattle, Washington, though in fact the professor had never set foot in that state.

§ Although F.B.I. and Army spies infiltrated the antiwar movement with the density of cockroaches in a Hong Kong kitchen, they never were able to find out anything that was going to happen before it happened, or why and how it had happened after it happened. "Despite massive surveillance of the SDS," writes Donner, "it [the Bureau] neither anticipated the emergence of the Weather Underground nor succeeded in apprehending those involved in its underground activities."

§ Having decided that *Ramparts* magazine was a menace and that there just might be some relationship between *Ramparts* and the Institute for Policy Studies, the spies began their big sweep. "For six years the IPS was infiltrated by scores of informers; its premises were burglarized, its trash scrutinized, its fellows' phones wiretapped, its publications and brochures channeled into swollen files. Not only the Bureau, but the CIA, military intelligence, the Office of Naval Intelligence, a federal grand jury investigating the Pentagon Papers affair, and the D.C. metropolitan police got into the act."

That army of spies never stumbled upon the naked truth—that the I.P.S. was guilty only of shoestring elitism.

§ The I.R.S. set up a hit squad—the Special Service Staff—to harass and neutralize any "radical" person or organization that it considered "an insidious threat to the internal security of this country." The director of the S.S.S. let his agents know that they were the only force that stood between right-thinkers and the "highly organized and well-financed groups bent on destroying our form of government." And just who were these insidious forces? Judging from the S.S.S.'s files, they included such bomb-throwers as the National Council of Churches, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Fund for the Republic, the American Library Association and the Carnegie and Ford Foundations.

I put it to you that many of the people in the F.B.I. and the I.R.S. and the military intelligence were absolutely stark raving, and that if you took these examples of their conduct to any court above the Mason-Dixon line you could have them committed. They were, and probably still are, c-r-a-z-y.

But what does that make us who supported them with our taxes? And what does it make those Americans who approved of their conduct, and aided it?

I'm not talking just about right-wingers. I'm talking about many liberals, too. I'm talking about Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who, says Donner, had "a natural affinity for the intelligence process, a sometimes gossipy and voyeuristic delight in the insider's role, and a callousness to the claims alike of privacy and free expression," and in whose Administration Hoover got his first strong approval as a domestic spy czar.

I'm talking about the pious Rev. Billy Don Moyers, whom Donner depicts as a conduit for sneaky F.B.I. information about civil rights activists at the 1964 Democratic convention.

I'm talking about the supposedly high-minded *Los Angeles Times*, which was the first to print the F.B.I.'s false rumors about Jean Seberg that ultimately drove her to suicide.

I'm talking about suckers like Hubert Humphrey and Paul Douglas, who, as Donner shows, outdid even the villainous Attorney General Tom Clark in dreaming up their own custodial detention legislation.

And I mean those pitiful officials in the American Civil Liberties Union who thought they could play with skunks and not come away smelling to high heaven. "A network of collaborative arrangements between ACLU insiders in field affiliates and the FBI flourished from the mid-forties on," writes Donner. "During a seven-year period in the fifties national ACLU officials and staff members fed the FBI on a continuing basis internal reports, memoranda, files, minutes, and other material and documents dealing with the ACLU's policies, plans, and activities. They provided the FBI with information on the politics and private lives of individuals, informed it of pending actions, divulged internal conversations and discussions."

Among those sucking up to the F.B.I., says Donner, was Morris L. Ernst, for many years the A.C.L.U.'s general counsel and board member. "Ernst's courtship took the form of 'My dear Edgar . . . for your eyes alone' letters to Hoover about internal ACLU matters and an article (in *Reader's Digest*, December 1950) entitled 'Why I No Longer Fear the FBI.' " And where did this contrived intimacy get Ernst? It got him roundly insulted and finally discarded. When he referred to Hoover as "a treasured friend" during a closed session of a Senate subcommittee, Clyde Tolson, Hoover's truly treasured friend, became so insanely jealous that he prevailed upon Hoover to be forever after "out of town" whenever Ernst called or wrote.

What of the future? Probably more of the same.

Recently, as Donner says, the F.B.I. has promised to sin no more, but "the prospect is far from remote of a revival of domestic political intelligence ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tivities in response to the same social and political pressures that have in the past dominated American public life. Intelligence as a means of containing movements for change, as a system of control, is simply too powerful a weapon in a highly conservative economic and social order lightly to be abandoned."

Although F.B.I. Director William Webster claims to have downgraded political spying (for which, at least until the mid-1970s, the F.B.I. was still spending twice as much as for organized-crime informers), last year he refused to let Congress audit the F.B.I.'s use of informers. Webster is doing all he can to kill the Freedom of Information Act as it applies to the F.B.I. He has proposed a seven-year moratorium on disclosure of records pertaining to law-enforcement investigations, and he has asked Congress to exempt many categories of records from mandatory disclosure. The reforms made by the F.B.I. to date are, says California Representative Don Edwards, a close student of the Federal police, so "fragile" that they could easily disappear "when we get a little war hysteria." Many observers feel, as Robert Pear recently wrote in *The New York Times*, that "the Bureau's new spirit of openness is a somewhat grudging public relations maneuver unmatched by a true change of heart."

Still, there are little accidental victories we can be happy about. That building, for example. "In the 'mad king' tradition," writes Donner, "his glory is preserved by the immense J. Edgar Hoover Building, the preoccupation of his last years, which symbolically dwarfs the Justice Department headquarters building and dominates the inaugural route between the Capitol and the White House." Quite true, it does overwhelm the scene. But if that symbolism makes you a bit ill, despair not. There is an antidote. Move to the side of the building away from Pennsylvania Avenue and you will find, across the street, Sonny's Sorplus (*sic*), a junky Army-Navy store, and just a few yards up the street an X-rated moviehouse, a discount liquor store, a rock-and-roll music store and a cheap disco. No matter how grand the F.B.I. building's pretensions on Pennsylvania Avenue, at the other end it is mired in the sleaze of America, which we hope will irritate Mr. Hoover for an eternity. □

Only Reconnect

BRINA CAPLAN

OFF CENTER. *By Barbara Grizzuti Harrison. The Dial Press. 288 pp. $9.95.*

"There are only two things in this world," according to Werner Erhard, founder of the est therapy franchise, "semantics and nothing." Such careless nihilism, according to Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, dangerously impoverishes the reality we have to share with Erhard, with one another and with our own consciences. In *Off Center*, a collection of essays written over the course of the 1970s, Harrison looks at Joan Didion's despairing fiction and Adrienne Rich's militant prose, interviews Jane Fonda and Dick Cavett, reviews her own participation in a women's consciousness-raising group and examines other contemporary cultural practices, including est. Nowhere does she find "only two things"; yet sometimes, as in the case of Erhard's dictum, she finds self-indulgence and oversimplification, two things used too often as justification for each other. If Erhard's world is one of verbal structures, a world that thinking makes so, Harrison's is one of interconnected and competing values—personal, moral, familial, political—a world that must be thought about.

"I grew up," Harrison tells us, "in Bensonhurst among people who, if they had little else, had the courage of their contradictions. I grew up trying to sort truth from fiction (which was almost always more picturesque and more compelling than truth) among proud, stubborn Italian-Americans." As an adult, she finds herself sorting out less inno-

Brina Caplan teaches expository writing at Harvard University.

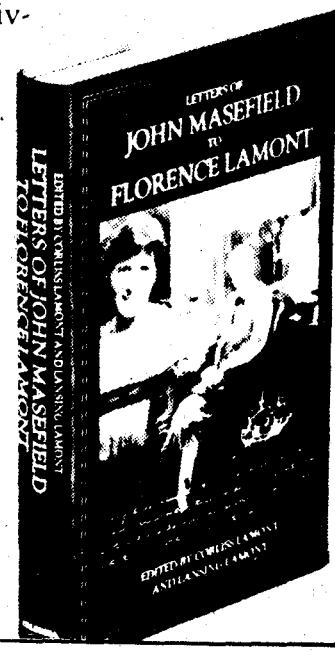
"Vigorous, humane, and witty."*

LETTERS OF JOHN MASEFIELD TO FLORENCE LAMONT

"The book is a moving tribute to a friendship that spanned an ocean, two world wars, an age, sharing the profound and the trivial and remaining to the end vigorous, humane, and witty."
—Anne Morrow Lindbergh

"They found the essence of friendship, this erudite sailor, this beguiling woman.... This book is a living monument in its readability and intimacy to both of them."
—*Los Angeles Times*

Edited by Corliss Lamont and Lansing Lamont
Illustrated. $20.00



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Address for orders:
136 South Broadway, Irvington, N.Y. 10533

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent confusions: personal, literary or social complexities that courage alone cannot resolve. For example, in the autumn of 1974 she returns to her old neighborhood in Brooklyn, where, under the pressure of racial fears, the ambivalences of character that she observed as a child have begun a harsh fragmentation:

> I found myself once again in that familiar territory where cynicism and sanguinity, pragmatism and rococo fantasies fight for psychic space in the complex personalities of insular, ghettoized Italian-Americans who, like my grandfather, defend the very contradictions that confound them, and who, like him, seldom manage to coordinate their emotional/political reflexes. There was one added ingredient in the familiar volatile brew; it pervades the working- and lower-middle-class community of Bensonhurst as it pervades New Utrecht High School: that ingredient is despair.

In pursuing the causes of interracial violence at New Utrecht High School, Harrison finds that the victimizers, "tribal and defiant," are also victims. She discloses the helplessness, the rage and the baffled good will of a community that has been betrayed from within as well as from without: "What is no longer certain is that anyone in Bensonhurst believes, anymore, in the American Dream."

Indeed, several of Harrison's best essays investigate areas where certainty gives way; where, in effect, culture lapses. Some of these areas, like Bensonhurst, are geographic. Others, like old age, a state she examines in a review of Ronald Blythe's book, *The View in Winter*, are psychological or personal; still others are literary. In every case, Harrison is concerned with the ways individuals have preserved their civility despite pervasive fear or invasive disorder. Thus, she celebrates the difficult life of Louise Bogan ("Her sanity and her dignity inform") and rejects the recently published essays of Adrienne Rich ("It's an unhappy fact of life and prose that ideology tends to coarsen, and sometimes to fossilize, the moral imagination"). Ideological earnestness, Harrison reminds us, produces cultural boulders—not art.

And although Harrison herself is never solemn about anything, she is serious about literature, which she believes can reconnect private lives with public concerns. Consequently, as a critic of culture, she warns against varieties of disconnection, including Joan Didion's reckless abandonment of meaning:

> "What is, is," Werner Erhard tells his fans. "All connections," Didion tells her fans, are "equally meaningful and equally senseless." . . . Part of Didion's appeal, I am convinced, lies in her refusal to forge connections (notably between the personal and the political or between the personal and the transcendental). In spite of the sense of dread that suffuses her work, it contains this implied message of (false) comfort: if Didion—who is so awfully smart—doesn't trouble to make connections, why should we? "What is, is."

Harrison reinforces her argument with a convincing analysis of Didion's prose style. When she splits that bright apple, it reveals an ashy core: the lovely sounds, the artful rhetoric, the brilliant images are, at best, hollow and, at worst, inimical to sense: "If," she explains,

> I put Al Capone and sweet williams in the same sentence, I can be fairly sure that a certain number of readers will be jolted by the juxtaposition—their eyes will cross, and they will assume that they are in the presence of genius. They will be wrong, of course, because unless I use this technique to draw them into meaning, I will have cheated them: a magician can pull a rabbit out of a hat and get away with it; a writer's job is to tell us what the rabbit was doing in the hat in the first place.

Harrison admits outright that Didion is a wizard of technique, but of a technique that services itself. And, she suggests, while self-abuse is a personal matter, Didion's repudiation of meaning has political consequences:

> To complain ("I am so tired of remembering things") of remembering is to express a wish to be dead, to return to some pre-Edenic state in which good and evil, right and wrong, do not exist. It is a wish to erase, not only one's personal painful past but our collective past—which, in turn, is an invitation to believe that we cannot, individually or collectively, affect the present or the future.

Of course, a psychological critic would not rest here; she would proceed by tracing out the odd mental wiring that allows Didion to short-circuit cause and effect. Harrison is not a psychological critic, however. Nor is she an academic critic, whose essays compound predictably until they yield a systematic analysis of culture—the revisions of a Marxist, say, or the structures of a structuralist. And, plainly enough, she is not a dispassionate critic. (Add to her condemnation of Didion the sentence beginning her review of Bernard Lefkowitz's *Breaktime*: "This is a book about people who have chosen, for a variety of reasons—chief among which is self-indulgence masquerading as idealism—not to work, written by a reporter whose intelligence is sponge-like rather than analytical.") Instead, Harrison is herself at work in the tradition of tough-minded journalists like Walter Lippmann, whose personal decency helps us to discover our own.

This style of criticism is particularly valuable in a culture that encourages us to see "only two things," self and world, and thus to misperceive the boundaries of both. At its best, Harrison's method multiplies what we see by restoring moral complexity to overtalked, underthought issues such as abortion (which "right-on slogans," she emphasizes, will not resolve) and by dividing raw self-interest from concealing layers of political, esthetic or religious principle. Unerringly, Harrison spots mink linings beneath the hair shirts of the righteous. If Werner Erhard, Billy Graham and Joan Didion, whose cultural influence is far-ranging, receive the harshest treatment, Harrison's judgments of anonymous, local martyrs are no less acute. She recounts, for example, the maneuver of a member of her women's consciousness-raising group:

> "All my life," one woman said, "I've served people and now . . . I don't want to serve you coffee or wine when you come to my house because I find it oppressive to serve people. But if you serve food at your houses, I'll feel guilty. So you'll have to stop serving anything so I won't feel guilty." That's what the woman said and she stood us on our heads.

Whenever selfishness and arrogance create such paradoxical requests, Harrison easily detects them, and just as easily translates them into their components.

Unfortunately, because *Off Center* is a miscellany of essays written for a variety of audiences (*Viva*'s as well as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

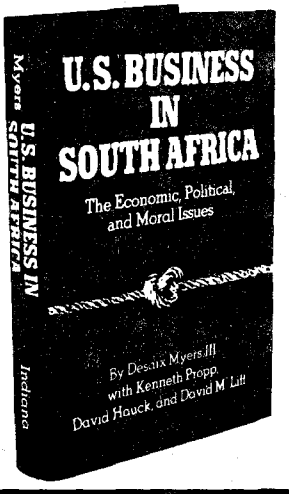
U.S. BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Economic, Political, and Moral Issues

By Desaix Myers III, with Kenneth Propp, David Hauck, and David M. Liff

". . . addresses virtually every aspect of post-1910 socio-economic history in South Africa. . . . the prime reference on the subject."
—The Kirkus Reviews

This study, by the staff of the Investor Responsibility Research Center, reviews the pressures on American companies in South Africa, details the debate within the U.S., and includes a listing of the positions of all universities owning stock in companies doing business in South Africa. **$17.50**


Myers
U.S. BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA
Indiana
U.S. BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA
The Economic, Political, and Moral Issues
By Desaix Myers III with Kenneth Propp, David Hauck, and David M. Liff

Which Way Is South Africa Going?

By Gwendolen M. Carter

Current political developments, especially black politics, analyzed against the backdrop of enduring issues in South African society. Studied in detail are Afrikaner nationalism, the question of the homelands, the transformation of African nationalism into black consciousness, and the role of other racial groups. **$12.95**

BROTHERHOOD OF POWER

An Exposé of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond

By J. H. P. Serfontein

A glimpse into the workings of the secret organization controlling the destiny of South Africa. This study is based on secret Broederbond documents and the author's twelve-year investigation. ". . . offers vital exposure of a shadowy and frightening force . . ." —*Choice* **$15.00**

Southern Africa

The Continuing Crisis

Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara

An up-to-date and expanded version of *Southern Africa in Crisis*. This volume analyzes the historical, political, economic, and social factors that have influenced national policies in the South-Central African region. ". . . this volume has considerable value." —*West Africa* **cloth $17.50 paper $7.95**

COMMUNISM IN AFRICA

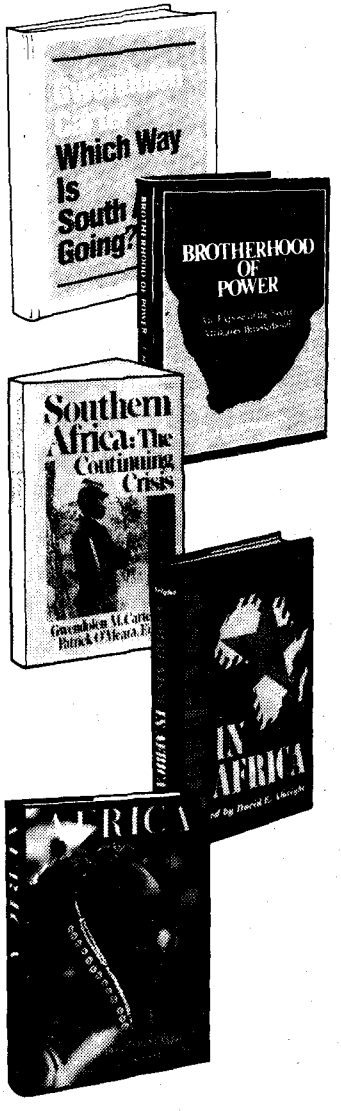
Edited by David E. Albright

Essays exploring various aspects of the thesis that, while other Communist states and forces have engaged in activities on the continent according to their own special interests, these activities are significant primarily because of their impact on Soviet enterprises in Africa. **$12.95**

AFRICA

Edited by Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara

A comprehensive interdisciplinary assessment of the history, politics, economics, religion, art, social organizations, race relations, and international dimensions of African affairs. "This substantial study of Africa reflects its emergence from its long neglect during the colonial era. . . . up-to-date and authoritative." —*John Barkham Reviews*
cloth $20.00 paper $7.95



Available at bookstores or send $1.50 postage and handling for first book, 25¢ for each additional book, to order from publisher.

Indiana University Press
Dept. A, Tenth and Morton Streets, Bloomington, Indiana 47405

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New York Times Book Review's; *McCall's* as well as *The Nation*'s), it includes essays of unequal weight. And the Dick Cavett interview has almost negative gravity: "Is God something you think about?" she inquires, and his answer provides a glib, empty page. Surely, both question and answer demonstrate the Andy Warhol Effect, which makes worthy of our attention the opinions of anyone famous for fifteen minutes. Probably God *has* to care what Cavett thinks of Him. But does Harrison? Must we? Even here, though, *Off Center* supplies its own standard of comparison; a companion interview with Jane Fonda skillfully anatomizes Fonda's influential but "soft-at-the-core, open-to-interpretation populist politics."

Next time, one hopes, Harrison's editors will choose more deliberately from among the articles which further the work she has begun here:

> The most interesting problem for people of my age—people who grew up in the fifties—remains how to unite the personal and the political. □

BLOODSHED AND BETRAYAL IN MISSISSIPPI

Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism, 248 pages, by John R. Salter, Jr. (Foreword by Rev. Ed King)

The first completely detailed inside account of any massive Southern civil rights upheaval: high courage at the grassroots, bloody repression and the murder of Medgar Evers, betrayal by Camelot.

"a moving and contemporary account . . . vivid . . . stirring".
—*Best Sellers*

"important work . . . Inside story of an outside agitator".
—*Mississippi Libraries*

"tells us not only what went wrong, but also what was right . . . as inspiring as it is fascinating". *Changes*

ISBN: 0-682-49353-8 $10.00

Order from Exposition Press, Hicksville, New York 11801—(516) 822-5700—Prepaid plus $1.25 postage and handling

Creative Forgetting

LARRY CEPLAIR

HEYDAY. *By Dore Schary. Little, Brown and Company. 389 pp. $14.95.*

HONEST, ABE. *By Abe Burrows. Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company. 369 pp. $14.95.*

ZENIA'S WAY. *By Abraham Polonsky. Lippincott & Crowell. 268 pp. $10.*

Memory should be accorded deep respect by those who use it as a means of communication, especially when the message involves behavior during a time of civil or political strife. As a born-again cold war rushes upon the United States and intelligence agencies strain eagerly on their leashes, accounts of those who experienced the last scourge of thought control in America —whatever stance they assumed toward it—merit critical attention for what is included and omitted.

Dore Schary's memoir, *Heyday*, offers the reader a reasonably interesting account of a screenwriter's life in Hollywood during the 1930s, as well as of a producer's life during the following decade and a half. Schary the movie maker's memory is, indeed, as he notes, "a long one." He was a rare breed of studio executive—a liberal, active in the Screen Writers Guild, the Anti-Nazi League, and Democratic Party politics. About this his memory also seems to function well. It is only in that foggy area where movie making and politics frequently collide that Schary's memory seems to falter. On three separate occasions, he omits crucial details which, when added, substantially alter the image.

Schary remembers that he fought against blacklisting, but forgets that he supported the industry blacklist. That is, at the famous Waldorf Conference of November 1947, Schary argued strongly against the institution of a blacklist. But once the movie executives decided to fire or refuse to employ the Hollywood Ten, Schary co-authored the statement that declared each of those men unemployable in the motion picture industry "until such time as he is acquitted or has purged himself of contempt and declares under oath that he is not a Communist." Shortly thereafter, Schary appeared before the members of the Screen Writers Guild and urged them to support the producers' blacklisting of the Ten (seven of whom were Guild members). He then fired Waldo Salt, who would have been the next "unfriendly" witness had the hearings continued. In the ensuing eight years, most of which were spent as head of production at M-G-M, Schary did not hire or retain on his payroll a single blacklisted person. "I was," he told Lillian Ross in early 1948, "faced with the alternative of supporting the stand taken by my company or of quitting my job. . . . I like making pictures. I want to stay in the industry."

The phrase "making pictures" also poses a problem for Schary, who has come to believe that he actually "made" *Crossfire*, the first Hollywood film exposing the evils of anti-Semitism, when all he really did was facilitate the start of production and add his name to the credits as executive producer. If anyone could be said to have made *Crossfire*, it was its actual producer, Adrian Scott. Scott discovered the book on which the script was based, sold the idea to Schary's predecessor, Peter Rathvon, wrote the script with John Paxton and developed ulcers from worrying about studio censorship of the project. Not only does Schary fail to give Scott his due but he also absentmindedly claims to have resurrected a dead project and to have helped rewrite the script.

Finally, Schary believes that he was fired from M-G-M as a result of his liberal politics (his open support for Adlai Stevenson). Perhaps that was a factor, but Bosley Crowther, in *The Lion Roars*, mentions a detail that Schary omits: at the time of Schary's firing, M-G-M faced a studio operating deficit of $3 million, its largest since 1948.

If Dore Schary's memory has slipped, Abe Burrows's has had a great fall. As show-business memoirs go, *Honest, Abe* is unremarkable: a happy, suc-

Larry Ceplair is co-author of The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960 *(Doubleday & Company).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cessful man pleasantly recounting his life as a radio writer, nightclub performer, radio and television panelist and Broadway playwright (*Guys and Dolls*, *How to Succeed in Business*). He does not, however, provide the reader with the details of his years as one of the most active members of the Hollywood branch of the Communist Party. For a version (albeit laundered) of Burrows's political career, one must turn to his testimony at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities: "I did associate with Communists. I went to various meetings, I belonged to a lot of their fronts, I attended lectures, what was called study groups or something like that. I entertained for their causes. I gave them money. . . ." Nor does Burrows mention his two other appearances before HUAC: once in executive session, where he denied he was a Communist, once in open session (November 12, 1952), where he told the committee, "I was considered a Communist. In my own heart I didn't believe it. . . ."

Burrows is entitled to forget or gloss over unpleasant events; they are his memoirs, after all. But a student of the Hollywood political scene is left wondering. Why did Burrows become a Communist? Why did he cease political activity? Did he change his tune and testimony because his new-found Broadway success threatened to disappear in the murk of his political past? Did his artful fudging result from coaching by his lawyer, Martin Gang, the archangel of recanting show-business souls? Does he regret giving the committee the names of several of his former friends?

Abraham Polonsky, one of the people named by Burrows, has used his memory to better advantage. In his fourth novel, *Zenia's Way* (his first in thirty years), Polonsky explores the effects on two people, Ram and Zenia, of participation in six decades of political history. He juxtaposes two political events widely separated in time and place—a Palmer raid episode in New York City and a Palestine Liberation Organization raid in Israel—as a means of viewing where he started and where he has arrived.

Polonsky has discovered, as a result of the many forms of political terror he has witnessed or been told about, that no matter how inhuman the raid appears, human connections grow between captors and captured. He also believes that the quality of the cause, not the form of the terror, determines the nature of the attachments formed. The P.L.O. raiders, more efficient and ruthless than the Palmer raid Feds, are portrayed much more sympathetically. The Palestinians represent a cause, the liberation of a people, while Stair, the Fed, represents a bureaucracy and follows orders he finds morally repugnant and illegal.

Another lesson that Polonsky learned much earlier and has repeatedly expressed in his best novels and screenplays (notably *Body and Soul*, *Force of Evil* and *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here*), is that people can, within limits, control their destinies. Even though individuals are continually snared in the webs of other people's plans, they remain free to choose and to act. Polonsky's heroes, then, are the paradoxical—he would say dialectical—people: liberated captives.

The novel is strongest when the narrator's voice dominates. It is the voice of an intelligent, observant and wise man. Ram has seen and heard much, and still has maintained balance and perspective. Zenia, the character of the title, however, is a failed creation. She is portrayed as the center of young Ram's world, the model for his adult consciousness and the magnet electrifying his last days. Polonsky has intended her to be a vital, inspiring figure—she is neither. Her character and her words lie flat on the page, in the main because she is fully formed before the narrative begins. Polonsky, too, has suffered a lapse of memory: he has forgotten that he achieved his greatest art through characters who are involved in the process of becoming. □

THEATER

HAROLD CLURMAN

Mass Appeal
A Day in Hollywood/A Night in the Ukraine
L'Os/Ubu Roi
The Ik

Perhaps they are right, those who claim that "less is more." Or so it would seem in the theater. I found it more agreeable to sit through *The Sorrows of Stephen*, the slightest of slight comedies, some months ago at the Public Theater, than to be thumped on all my senses by the Brobdingnagian *Evita*.

So I must set down some words of praise for *Mass Appeal* (Manhattan Theatre Club), by Bill C. Davis, with its two characters who try to decide upon the most propitious line of religious indoctrination in their curacy.

The action takes place in Father Tim Farley's office in St. Francis Church. The difference between Farley, the canny and seasoned priest, and Mark Dolson, the young seminarian, is, one might say, the difference between the humanistically indulgent and the scripturally literal. The veteran knows that his congregation is composed of mediocre souls who would find the rigor of religious behavior unsuited to the modest capacity of their personal dimensions. He tries to make religion easy and agreeable. Not so young Dolson, who would retain the severities implied in faith rather than make an emollient of it.

Farley wants to go along with the common prejudices of his flock and act the kindly and avuncular guide they expect him to be, while Dolson insists on defending other seminarian candidates of the same parish who are suspected of homosexual inclination. (This to me is the most conventional aspect of the play: homosexuality on our stage is no longer a simple fact, it has become a dramatic ploy.)

All this makes the play sound much more ponderously discursive than it is. It is actually written with a light touch, a joshing good humor, which aerates the theme and its implications to such a degree that they almost evaporate. Yet they exist, and while one can make heavy weather of the material (not entirely convincing if taken literally), there remains a kernel of meaning and sense in the play and best of all an Irish bonhomie which is certainly ingratiating. Especially so since Milo O'Shea (as the good-hearted, cynical Farley, prepared to lie a bit to make his congregation comfortable) has never been better. His native tone comes easily, and he adapts himself to his own limitations. Eric Roberts's handsomeness is an asset to his modern-day righteousness, and he makes a perfect foil for O'Shea's down-to-earth (slightly bibulous) beneficence and sense of compromise. The play has been nicely directed by Geraldine Fitzgerald, but on such an occasion it is difficult to determine who has led whom. This may be as it should.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is a harum-scarum musical double feature called *A Day in Hollywood/A Night in the Ukraine* (John Golden Theatre), two spoofs with very little connection except that they are both intended as dizzy nonsense that succeeds in making us accept and enjoy its zaniness.

The Hollywood section is based on the talking pictures of the 1930s. There is a number called "Doing the Production Code," in which all the old studio prohibitions on sexual matters are jocularly spelled out. What gives the evening its point is the inventive, precise, brilliantly executed choreography of Tommy Tune, who has a style all his own. He can match the flashiness of most of our stage choreographers, and he adds to his dances a crispness that makes them not only ingenious but snappily graceful at the same time.

A Night in the Ukraine is less remarkable; it is based on the Marx Brothers in a situation somewhat resembling that of *The Bear* by the "greatest Russian gag writer," Anton Chekhov. This is crazy stuff—Tony Walton's set is in itself a gag—and we go along with it because it has no intention of being anything else. Priscilla Lopez, whom I liked so much in *A Chorus Line*, is cutely nuts as the silent Harpo Marx, and the other two brothers, Groucho and Chico, manage to be almost as hilarious as the originals without exactly imitating them.

I must proceed with deference and caution about Peter Brook's trilogy (La MaMa), presentations—with a cast of mixed races and nationalities—on which he has worked for ten years in France, Iran and Africa. The entire project was initiated in Paris (with aid by the American and French Governments) when very few people outside the theater had heard about it and when it was surrounded by a certain degree of mystery. For, to begin with, Brook is surely the "most prodigiously clever" of directors in the English-speaking world (as I said of him in 1950), whether or not one admired his (later) *Marat/Sade* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

I approach the latest and most challenging of Brook's ventures with some diffidence because I have thus far seen only the first two of the three. The first program is the simplest: *L'Os* (The Bone), a folk tale in French and English, and the famous absurdist *Ubu Roi*, by Alfred Jarry. The second program, *The Ik*, is based on Colin Turnbull's book about a tribe of nomadic mountain hunters in Uganda who have been removed from their territory to become farmers and are thereby reduced to a state of starvation and indifference to sentiment and to fellow feeling: the satisfaction of their hunger has become the reason for their existence.

I shall not review the entire Brook trilogy till I have seen its third feature, *The Conference of the Birds*, which is based on a poem about the land of the birds. But the overall theme of the three plays appears to be the depletion of the earth through man's carelessness, greed and savagery.

What strikes me at present is that Brook has attempted to get down to the barest, most direct form of theatrical expression (hardly any scenery is employed), and eschews any action that might lead to a conventional emotional-theatrical effect. There is, for example, a moment in *Ubu* in which a small group, representing a family, gathers around a small fire on which food is supposed to be cooking. The space occupied by the scene is as tiny as can be. Then the grotesque giant dictator Ubu enters and obliterates the entire "household." Also, anyone who intends to attack the dictator's realm hurls him or herself against a blank wooden wall, signifying their death.

There is a kind of cruelty and, at the same time, a sense of speechless horror in *The Ik*. Yet there is little terror, little feeling, only expressionless statement. It would seem that Brook is not aiming at any new style unless this is itself one. It is drama reduced to its most primitive principles and images.

There are moments in both programs that suggest that Brook's intention has been realized. But I am not yet convinced that the means employed to arrive at these results—the long months and years of arduous experiments—were needed to achieve them. The actors have little personality—they are probably not supposed to have any—since most of them play different roles in the same play and serve simply as functions of clear and plain dramatic actions. What, I ask myself, can this experiment—the totality of the event—bring to the theater? It is a reduction to the basics, the "mythic," the rock bottom. This is not a question readily answered at first go. Let us wait.

I should add that though there is very little dialogue in *The Ik*, one line impressed me. When a reporter asks a native at the play's end why his people don't move away to where there is hunting and, perhaps, food, the native replies, "We would miss the mountain": they can still see their native territory, which has been turned into a national park. We are also informed that despite all the deprivation, the Ik population has not diminished since the change. Life is somehow irrepressible. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

The Shining
Practice Makes Perfect

I am not certain what it means to call Stanley Kubrick's *The Shining* "the first epic horror film," as the ads are quoting Jack Kroll of *Newsweek*, but surely it is one of the strangest of them. It is so because Kubrick (and presumably Stephen King, who wrote the novel), is more interested in his people than in the wringer through which he puts them. In this respect, *The Shining* is like the Le Carré spy thrillers; it gets you more deeply than plot. The formula for horror is to seize upon some quite average, very nice people, as in *The Exorcist*, and torment them until their eyes bulge and the audience screams. Jack and Wendy Torrance (Jack Nicholson and Shelly Duvall) are average enough, but Jack is anything but nice. A failed schoolteacher and reformed drunk, now clinging desperately to respectability by declaring himself a freelance writer, he is bitter, cruel, self-loathing, a man who smiles with clenched teeth. Wendy is nice but exasperating—submissive, obtuse, mistress of all the current clichés, defenseless except on behalf of their young son, Danny (Danny Lloyd). She is the sort of friendly wife who will walk in on her husband when he is writing to ask, "Hi, hon, how's it going?" The Torrances are a couple who could attain to murder in a Larchmont split-level; instead, they have signed on as winter caretakers of an enormous Rocky Mountain resort hotel, built at the turn of the century, a former holiday spot for celebrities like Teddy Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. The hotel has grisly stains on its history. How the manager could have hired such an edgy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pair for such a job is the initial mystery, but I got the impression he didn't have much choice.

Then the film is something of a sport because Kubrick is cavalier with his spookery; it is seldom clear where neurosis ends and haunting takes over. The boy Danny has second sight—called "the shine" by the hotel chef (Scatman Crothers), who is similarly gifted—which enables him to see the past and anticipate the future. Predictably, he sees ghosts, but by the time the snow has begun to fall, it is his father who is fairly surrounded by them; they serve him drinks, rise from a bathtub to embrace him and counsel him to take the strongest possible measures against his family. Knowing Jack by then, I would suppose these visions to be self-engendered, except that the boy also sees such things, among them a pair of ominously identical twins and torrents of blood. Danny's "voice" tells him the specters are only "pictures," but they do roll tennis balls down empty corridors, splash drinks on Jack's jacket and fiddle with locks. As shadows, they are strangely tangible.

Perhaps because one works hard to keep the supernatural horror in focus, the picture is less frightening than its gruesome apparitions should make it. Or perhaps you become so disturbed by the natural problems of the Torrances that you tend to brush the horror aside and worry instead about the three of them on a realistic level. With Nicholson and Duvall in the leads, the human tragedy easily becomes paramount. His performance as a man fighting his most hideous impulses is both pitiful and shocking. Early in the film, Torrance remarks that he feels as though he had known the Overlook Hotel at some time in the past, and in retrospect it is clear that Nicholson has been playing the man at two periods of his life, a stereoscopic view of the character that gives it unexpected depth. Duvall's job is to be dynamically passive—to act as a barometer of the terror that is rioting through the empty, snowbound building. She sees very little of what bedevils her husband and son, but she sees their faces, hears their voices and reflects their torments as in a magnifying glass. With such performances, *The Shining* is so compelling that it can afford to leave its mysteries unresolved.

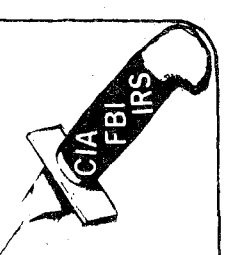
Of course, I would like to have the answers. I wish I knew, for instance, whether the nude whom Danny found in the bathtub was connected with his having heard on TV that a woman was missing in the storm. And, if so, why his father also encountered this most appalling of all the apparitions. In fact—quite outrageously, since it is his picture, not mine—I wish that Kubrick had made *The Shining* into a melodrama of ill-matched people caught in a trap, and had driven all the unburied dead off the hotel premises. However, as in *2001*, Kubrick likes ghost stories more than I do. And he gives me enough else, in the way of acting and bizarrely beautiful surroundings, to keep me happy.

Philippe de Broca has directed across a fairly wide spectrum, but his name has come to be associated with films that celebrate the amorous scamp, the chap who is indefatigable in his pursuit of women, but doesn't quite know what to do with those he catches. In this line of work he made stars of Jean-Pierre Cassel and Jean-Paul Belmondo; currently, in *Practice Makes Perfect*, he has turned to Jean Rochefort, who was already a star (*The Tall Blond Man With One Black Shoe*, *Dirty Hands*, *The Phantom of Liberty*, *Pardon Mon Affaire*, etc.). It is the same basic story, except that the amorist is older.

Rochefort is good for this sort of thing, because his aristocratic face and reserved, mournful manner contrast enticingly with his honeybee pursuits. In *Practice Makes Perfect* he is a concert pianist surrounded by women (Nicole Garcia, Annie Girardot, Danielle Darrieux, Catherine Alric, Carole Lixon), representing wives, mistresses, a daughter, and the granddaughter of a brief flame, who in their several generations exemplify the beauty and intelligence of their sex.

The rub, for me at least, is that Rochefort, whose career on both stage and screen is evidence of his wit, has little opportunity to display it here, and that the charm he is asked to assume wears off as quickly as the shine on a lead nickel. The moral of the film is that, as a man grows older, the 100-yard dash to the bedroom becomes increasingly arduous. Being of mature years myself, I could somewhat sympathize with the winded lechery of M. Choiseul, the celebrated musician and disciple of Don Juan. But it's hard to take this sort of behavior—a flutter here, a sip there—seriously, and as farce it suffers from predictability. Though his first wife (Girardot) does refer to certain wrinkles on her face, the frolicsome tone can be maintained only by pretending that no one gets seriously hurt, so that before long the women begin to seem as trivial as their pursuer. De Broca and Rochefort do this sort of thing as well as it can be done, which is to say, better than it deserves. □

YOU CAN HELP IN THE FIGHT TO STOP COINTELPRO



$10,000 is needed to pay legal fees to appeal the Federal District Court's dismissal of the Black Panther Party's $100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and other government agencies.

Make checks or money orders payable to:
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
(For the Black Panther Party Lawsuit)
132 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036
(All contributions are tax deductible)

For further information, contact:
THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON
AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
7622 MacArthur Blvd.
Oakland, Ca. 94605
(415)638-0197

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

Go National with The Nation's Classifieds: You can reach a large audience of discriminating, educated and concerned readers throughout the United States at very reasonable rates. We charge $3 per line (54 characters or spaces)—two-line minimum. Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free! Please enclose payment and send to Lindsey Weinraub c/o *The Nation.*

PUBLICATIONS

"Little Guy's Stock Market Survival Guide"—$5.95. Al Smith, Box 1714, La Jolla, CA 92038.

HANDBOOK FOR COUNSELORS AND EDUCATORS OF WOMEN.
Unique working manual, group and personal exercises on intelligence, emotion, behavior, and language as healing tools. 100 pages; $8.95 prepaid. Women's Workshop, *Box 7803, Stn. E., London, Canada N5Y 4J9.*

Labor Outreach Guide for Anti-Nuke Activists. Abalone Alliance, 944 Market #307, San Francisco, CA 94102. $2.

BIG BUSINESS READER—ESSAYS ON CORPORATE AMERICA edited by Mark Green & B Massie. Intro by Ralph Nader. 640 pp. $5.**CORPORATE SHADOW BOARDS**—Exposes of 11 Giant Abusers $5 **THE CORPORATE LOBBIES:** Political Profiles of the Business Roundtable & the Chamber of Commerce by M. Green & A Buchsbaum $25 1346 Conn Ave NW #411A Wash, DC 20036.

FREE BROCHURE DESCRIBES PLAN FOR REVERSING POPULATION GROWTH. If you believe that runaway population growth must be stopped at all costs, send for our free brochure. It describes a realistic plan of action for slowing, halting, and reversing the frightening increase in human numbers. NEGATIVE POPULATION GROWTH, INC., Suite 1042 (H-2). 16 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

SCANNER OWNERS! "Top Secret" Registry of U.S. Government Radio Frequencies! Book reveals 3,800 freqs. of FBI, CIA, Border, Immigration, Customs, Secret Service, FCC, Treasury, military, etc. $4.95 ppd., CRB Research, Box 56-TN, Commack, NY 11725.

PERIODICALS

ARCHAEOLOGY NEWSLETTER. Rome . . . Athens . . . Stonehenge . . . Karnak—new discoveries and theories, whodunits of history, ancient technology, photos, maps. "Authoritative . . . fascinating," says Library Journal. Our 15th year. Send $7.00 for 4-issue subscription to Reiss Inc., 243 East 39 Street, N.Y.C. 10016.

TRAVEL

Specialists in **HIMALAYAN ADVENTURE TREKS.** Former group members are our best advertisement. For information and references write to: **RAMMEL EXPEDITIONS,** P.O. Box 183, Tetonia, Idaho 83452.

EMPLOYMENT

ENGLISH TEACHERS REQUIRED by a language school in Japan (Nagoya). Single, experienced, mature and dynamic preferred. Send photos and handwritten resume: English Language Institute, Central Nagoya Bld. 504, Mei Eki, 2 Chome, Nagoya, Japan.

ART

Own a genuine Oriental Antique Porcelain item $60 each insured-postpaid. Others to $3,000. Bernie Berman, 755 Isenberg, Honolulu, HI 96826.

VICTORIAN HOMES—Crisp, detailed pen & ink prints, free brochure, P.O. Box 99681, Tacoma, WA 98499.

North Carolina Senior Citizen's Primitive Artists Collective. Send $3.50 for original crayon, pen, or watercolor plus biog. of artist. Box 4, Julian NC 27283.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Eric Herz Harpsichords, Inc. has been building fine instruments in the 18th century tradition for over 25 years. For brochure write: 12 Howard St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. (617) 868-6772.

PERSONALS

SINGLE BOOK LOVERS gets cultured, single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Established in 1970. Nationwide. Write to Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19063 or call 215-566-2132.

Marriage minded Oriental ladies are waiting to hear from you. CHERRY BLOSSOMS Dept N Honokaa HAWAII 96727.

SMALL BUSINESS FINANCING—$1,000 to $5,000. GRANTS, not loans. No collateral. No co-signers. No interest. No credit checks. Write: Gannco, B'ham, AL 35210.

Gentle, ethereal woman would like a male friend at home in the world of ideas and free for attachment, 45-60, New York, East Coast. The Nation Box 1210.

PERSONAL BIORHYTHM CHARTS. Plan your life for the next twelve months. Send birthdate and $4.00. Lionel Company, Box 64, Lincoln, Mass. 01773.

FINE ARTS NETWORK helps cultured singles find each other. Nationwide music, literature, art lovers. FREE Questionnaire. Box 4714, Cleveland, OH 44126.

Catholic friends, all ages, married, single. Free details. Sparks, Box 872-C, Troy, NY 12181

Lonely 19 year old inmate desires correspondence with sincere, intelligent people. I am in jail for sales of Cocaine and would like to have some true friends when I get out. Richard Deeds, Box 607, Carson City, Nevada, 89701.

SINGLES: Meet interesting, stimulating friends today. Quick local and national contacts. Tracy (312) 262-9800.

Well brought up, reasonably literate man seeks position as House Husband to financially secure professional woman, will cook, clean, cuddle. Write The Nation Box 1000.

ASTROPSYCHIC RESEARCH PROJECT needs participants. Confidentiality assured when results published. Send 25¢ (PLUS SASE) for details and application. Psyresearch, Drawer AF, University, Alabama 35486.

TELESCOPES

TELESCOPES, BINOCULARS, some 1/3 off. Save gas, observe the heavens at home. Send 50¢ for catalog to Elliott Hume, 63 Linwood, Warsaw, NY 14569.

AUTOMOBILES

Slash your gasoline bills! Produce gasohol for your car . . . Easy . . . Inexpensive . . . Most complete instructions available . . . $4 . . . Write D.H. 5337 Greenvalley Ct., Nash., Tenn. 37220.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$2000.00 Monthly mailing commission circulars. Experience unnecessary. Free details. Americana, 1108 Colonial, Inkster, Michigan 48141

$10,000 POSSIBLE IN 12 MONTHS with Business Digest. Not pleased return. Full refund. $36.00 12 issues. Visa-M.C. #Exp. date. Box 6956, B'ham, AL 35210.

$500 WEEKLY POSSIBLE! Commission mailing program. Pacific; Box 1109(TN); Lakegrove; OR 97034.

$356.00 weekly possible in only two hours work daily at home. Start immediately. Free details. Cedar Enterprises, Box 114, Mikana, Wi. 54857.

SAN FRANCISCO AREA & CA companies, $25 M to $25 MM. Write for list. Give us your specs. EMIL RICHMOND, SUI GENERIS BUSINESS BROKER, Est. 1947, 296 Ocean Av. S.F. 94112.

Pages and Pages every month of just how to make *money in mail order. Sample copy 50¢ R.H. Paushter,* 1254N 51 Street, Brooklyn, NY 11219.

INVESTMENT INFORMATION

VALUABLE INVESTMENT INFORMATION—Diamonds-Gemstones-Coins-Stamps-All have proven to be very good investments for today's inflationary environment. *Find out why- Free- Exceptional newsletter offer incl.* C.W. Enterprises, Box 4164, Dept. N-1, Bartonville, IL., 61607.

GAMES

BRIDGE PLAYERS. No game tonight? Play DuoBridge! The 4-handed bridge game for two. Only $7.95. Free details. Write: DuoBridge, Box 231, Merrick, NY 11566.

HOME EXCHANGE

Home Exchange sought by Bostonian Going to LA For Academic Year 1980-81. Call Paule 617 527-2134.

EXPLOSIVES

Cherry Bombs, M—60s, Firecrackers, skyrockets, and all class C Fireworks. Or make your own M-80s, Cherry Bombs, etc. Catalog: $3.00 refunded first order. Capitol Fireworks, 1805 West Monroe, Springfield, IL 62704.

MEMORABILIA

MOVIE POSTERS AND STILLS FOR SALE! THOUSANDS of titles to choose from! Send $1.00 for our giant catalog (Deduct from first order). Movie Poster Place, Dept. 6, Box 309, Lansdowne, PA 19050.

RECIPES

Green tomatoe jelly and other easy-to-make green masterpieces, $2. NEL-HALL, Box 167, Lakeville, Minn.55044.

Caribe Coffee Liqueur—easy, inexpensive and delicious. $1.50 to "Caribe," P.O. Box 28145, San Jose, CA 95128.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEMINARS

AVON INSTITUTE—issues of the 80's—July 19-26. Lake Winnipesaukee, NH. Children's program. Brochure from: American Friends Service Ctte., 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, Ma. 02140.

Publishing Laboratory International will offer the first Book Publishing Symposium 1980: Oxford, England, August 8-23. Taught by leading publishers, participants investigate international publishing. Career opportunities. Brochure call or write: Gail Peterzell, Publishing Laboratory International, 2 Park Ave., NYC 10016. (212) 532-7160.

HEALTH

HAVE DRUGLESS SINUS RELIEF!!

Sinus Sufferers. Find natural relief! This drugless method is inexpensive and used by doctors worldwide. Informative booklet explains all and is available by writing Hydro Med (N), PO Box 91273, L.A. 90009. (Include $2 to cover postage and handling.)

ASTROLOGY

BASIC BIRTH CHARTS nicely drawn (8½×11) only $10. Exact time, date, and place of birth required. Astro-Charts, Box 22, Amherst, Ohio 44001.

MISCELLANEOUS

GET RID OF ROACHES FOREVER $10.00 plus $2.00 postage for 1Lb can. E.G. Enterprises, 401 East 75th St., Suite 2, Chicago, IL 60619

Rape, Muggings no more! Purse size mace defends you against assault anywhere. Send $9 to: SOMA Enterprise, P.O. Box 386, Madison, OH 44057.

ALCOHOL—Complete detailed instructions, information, on still building, mash recipes, brewing, vehicle conversion burning both alcohol or gasoline. 45¢/gal. Build from discards, easy home methods. $7.00 Alco, Box 1603, Plains, PA 18705.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, Pa. 18036.

FOR THE COLLECTOR

RARE NEWSPAPERS! 1644—Civil War. Fascinating, historical reading at lowest prices. Extensive catalog 30¢. Hughes', 2410 N. Hills Dr., Williamsport, PA 17701.

SEEDS & PLANTS

DAYLILIES: Colorful; carefree; beautiful! Quality named plants 5/$10, postpaid; more $2 ea. Wheelers Narnia Gardens, Box 4724, Austin, Texas 78765.

BUSINESS INFORMATION

Millions of $ saved each yr. in WL ins. premiums. Cut WL Premiums ½. No loss of coverage guaranteed. My inst. $25. Ed Fletcher, PO Box 2082, BR, La. 70821.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

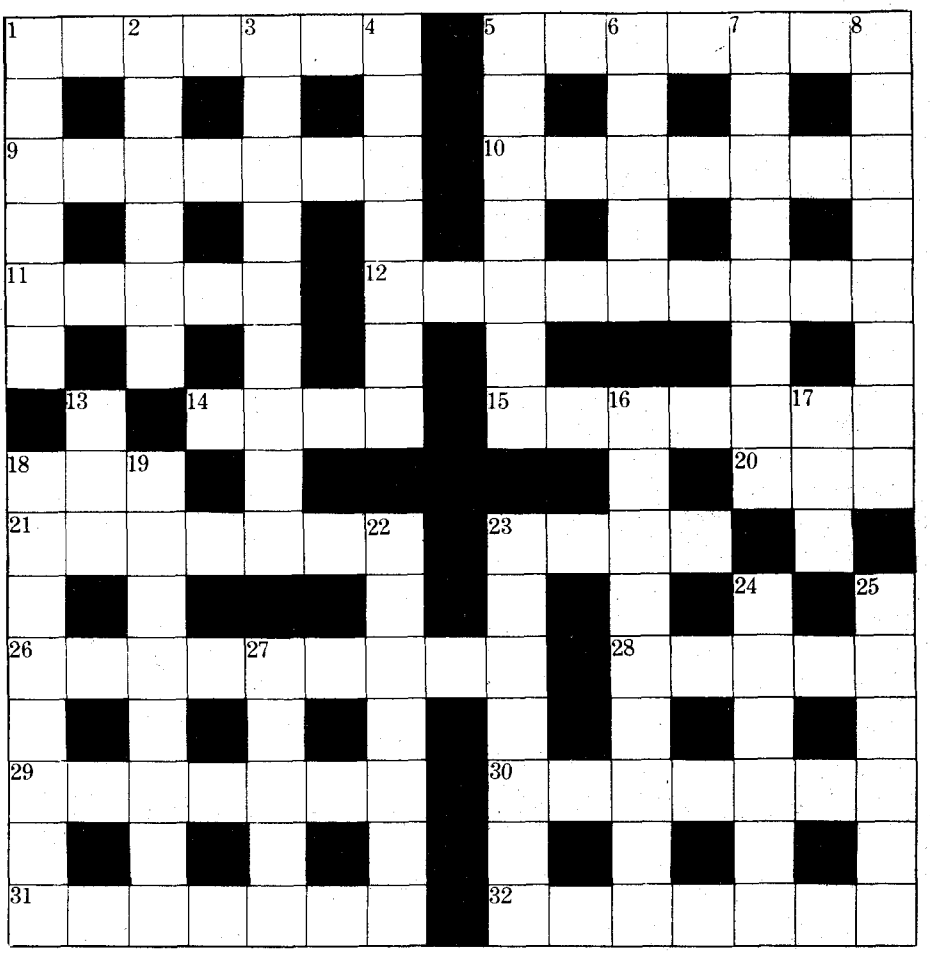
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

Crossword Puzzle No. 1825

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Red revolution in a period of expansion—good place for the retired! (7)
5 One who married the pussycat is about to cable back for something that used to go on top. (7)
9 Take care of something beforehand, or just make believe you do? (7)
10 Might the fairytale prince so affectionately touch the heroine on the knee? (7)
11 Nelson was one in later life, and prepared to fight. (5)
12 Hard workers are not likely to be found in them. (The real information is found in the ship!) (4-5)
14 See 13 down
15 The occupation of an American was of great concern. (7)
18 One takes a bow—for car designing? (3)
20 and 7 Stew, perhaps, as a subject for many books and pictures. (3,4,4)
21 They carry certain types of beer. (7)
23 See 13 down
26 An old servant makes a young boy sort of dismay. (5,4)
28 It might keep the knocker from being heard so much. (5)
29 A piece of the bagpipe. (7)
30 What 17 did in play with a 27. (7)
31 Places under no obligation. (7)
32 A Hall of Fame type might be described by Page One in the middle, with an old bag. (7)

DOWN

1 How Shakespeare is remembered for side effects. (2-4)
2 A sort of 11, to a point, ghastly in *King Richard III.* (6)
3 Too much get-up-and-go, or did motorists take advantage of it? (9)
4 A woman might pick up certain habits from her. (It's not quite right in style.) (7)
5 A little brave, perhaps, to sit around a river. (7)
6 Tread awkwardly, so marked. (5)
7 See 20 across
8 Pseudo-seer. (5,3)
13, 14 and 23 across The degree to which anti-abortionists flourish and multiply? (11)
16 Confederate color spread on the head, commonly. (9)
17 Haggard woman. (3)
18 A very good order of dessert. (5,3)
19 In basic red, I bleed, if you can believe such things. (8)
22 The sort of lass she cuts, as a cutlass does. (7)
23 In a fancy way, edits the edicts of the Supreme Soviet. (7)
24 Even if somewhat sort of ideas? (6)
25 We is, I ain't! (6)
27 Bow, when at the front of some U.S. houses. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1824

ACROSS: 1 Collective noun; 9 Peppers; 10 Intrude; 11 Thirty-one; 12 Rhett; 13 Logwood; 15 Excrete; 16 Floured; 18 Speed-up; 20 Ewers; 21 Comes into; 23 Shallot; 24 Swinish; 25 President-elect. DOWN: 1 Capital offense; 2 Lapwing; 3 Election results; 4 Tasso; 5 Voiceless; 6 Nutcracker Suite; 7 Ukulele; 8 Weather prophet; 14 Dedicated; 17 Open air; 19 Dentine; 22 Mason.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Norman Birnbaum, Blair Clark,
Ramsey Clark, Fred Cook, Terrence Des Pres,
E.L. Doctorow, Richard Falk, Jules Feiffer,
Tom Ferguson & Joel Rogers, Frances FitzGerald,
James Goodman & Dorothy Samuels, Philip Green,
Christopher Hitchens, Leonard Kriegel,
Robert Lekachman, Penny Lernoux,
Sanford Levinson, Carey McWilliams,
Aryeh Neier, Marcel Ophuls, Nora Sayre,
Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin, Kurt Vonnegut,
Alan Wolfe **write it.**

John Alcorn, Marshall Arisman, Tony Auth,
Seymour Chwast, Robert Grossman, Frances Jetter,
Ed Koren, David Levine, Lou Myers, Ed Sorel
illustrate it.

Victor Navasky **edits it.**

We've changed the face of *The Nation*. The new *Nation* is something to see.

Why is today's *Nation*, from editorial to the arts, wiser and wittier than anything in the field? The answer is in the people who write it, illustrate it, and edit it.

Join them. Say "yes" to our enticing offer in the coupon.

The Nation.

72 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

YES! Send me six months (24 issues) of The Nation at the low introductory rate of $9.95. I understand I may cancel at any time and receive a prompt refund for all undelivered copies.

☐ I enclose $9.95. For saving you billing costs I will receive four extra issues free.

☐ Enclosed is $21 (special discount offer) for one full year (47 issues).

*Add $5 for postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign subscriptions. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

Name _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

2123

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED